10 · *Jonathan Dickinson*

(1688–1747)

THE WITNESS OF THE SPIRIT

When Whitefield returned to Philadelphia in May 1740, he discovered a "general awakening" in progress and the young Presbyterians under attack both for their "intrusions" and for the displays of emotion attendant on their "soul-searching" and "pathetic" preaching. In these circumstances Jonathan Dickinson stepped forward to assess the nature and significance of the revival experiences. The acknowledged intellectual leader of American Presbyterianism, Dickinson was a generation older than the Log College graduates, and his background was quite different. Born in Solomon Stoddard's Massachusetts domain and educated at Yale, Dickinson spoke to and for the New Englanders who since the seventeenth century had been transplanting themselves to Long Island and into the Jerseys. In the disputes of the late 1730's Dickinson had opposed "subscription" but had otherwise managed to avoid identification either with the Tennent party or their opponents. Thus this sermon celebrating the outpouring of the Spirit was significant, not only as the Awakening's first sustained analysis of the psychology of conversion, but also because Dickinson gave the revivalists, already criticized as "anti-intellectual," both public sympathy and his immense prestige.

Jonathan Dickinson, *The Witness of the Spirit. A Sermon Preached at Newark in New-Jersey, May 7th. 1740. . . . On Occasion of the wonderful Progress of Converting Grace in these Parts* (Boston, 1740), pp. 6–15, 20–21.

. . . While Sinners are in an Estate of carnal Security, they will not *know* and consider *the Things of their Peace,* they will not endeavour to *flee from the Wrath to come,* nor to *lay hold on the Hope set before them.* No Means will prevail with them, no Arguments will persuade them to *come to Christ, that they might have Life.* This is a sad Truth, open to our continual Observation & Experience. We see a poor secure World going on boldly in the Paths of Destruction and Death, notwithstanding all the Terrors of the Law of God, notwithstanding all the faithful Warnings of the Ministers of Christ, and all the shocking Dispensations of Providence. What an astonishing Thought is this! Can rational Creatures cast themselves down the dreadful Precipice with their Eyes open! Can they run upon the flaming Sword, when it's brandished before their Breasts! Can they venture upon Hell & eternal Damnation, without Care or Fear! When seriously consider'd, it seems impossible: and yet it's obvious to every Observer, that this is the Conduct of the far greatest Part of the World of Mankind; and it will continue to be the Conduct of every unconverted Sinner, until the Spirit of God opens their Eyes, sets their Danger in View, and awakens them out of this stupid and dead State. It is accordingly the first Operation of the blessed Spirit in order to a Sinner's Sanctification, *to convince him of Sin.* This he sometimes does more *suddenly;* and by a more *forceable Impression,* filling the Soul with the greatest Agony & Distress,

from the most lively Views of his aggravated Sins, and of the amazing Wrath of God. This alarms all the Powers and Passions of the Soul, *pricks* the poor Sinner *to the Heart,* with St. Peter's Hearers causeth him to tremble with the *Jailor* to *tremble and be astonished* with *Saul* at his Conversion.—But in others these Convictions are more *gradually* brought on; and with *lower Degrees* of Terror and Amazement. These have such a Sense of their Sin and Danger, as makes them in earnest inquire *what they shall do to be saved,* tho' they do not approach so near to Desperation, from the astonishing Prospect of their dreadful Deserts. Some Sinners agonize *long* under these *Distresses,* before they can find Rest in Christ. Others are *sooner* brought to act Faith in him; and to the comfortable Evidences of it. But all must hereby be brought to such a discovery of their Guilt & Misery, that they can no longer rest in their present Condition; nor be easy without an Interest in Christ and the Favour of God.

And now my Brethren! It's your Business to consider, whether you have had this *witness of the Spirit with your Spirit,* or not. If you have been thus awaken'd out of your carnal Security, you have the Testimony of *the Spirit himself,* that he has begun a good Work in you. It is true, that this is no certain Evidence of a sanctifying Change. Many have been brought thus far, that have worn off these Impressions; and return'd to Folly, like *a Dog to his Vomit, and like the Sow that was washed to her wallowing in the Mire. . . .* But as for such of you that have had no Experience of these awak'ning Influences of the blessed Spirit, the Case is at once determined against you. There needs no other Evidence, that you are yet in your Sins, and under a dreadful Sentence of Death and Condemnation.

Another Method of the Spirit is by his *humbling* and *Soul-abasing* Influences.—A Sinner must be bro't out of himself, or he will never fly to Christ for Refuge, and receive him upon his own Terms. Convictions will awaken him to a solemn Concern about his State; will drive him to Duty, and produce a Reformation of his external Behaviour. But it's too common that these Attainments quiet the Conscience, and procure Peace to the Soul, short of an Interest in Christ, and a real sanctifying Change of Heart & Life. But if the Spirit of God carry on his Work to purpose, he will bring the convinced Sinner to see the infinite Defect of all his Performances and of all his Attainments, of all his Duties, Reformations, Promises, religious Frames, and moral Carriages, and of all he does or can do, to render him acceptable to God. He will bring him to see, that he is undone, and cannot help himself; and that he is utterly unworthy that God should help him. He will bring him to see, that it is a wonder of God's Patience that he is out of Hell; and that it will be a Wonder indeed of sovereign free Grace, if such a polluted guilty Rebel finally escapes eternal Ruin. He will bring him to lie at God's Footstool, as a guilty condemned Malefactor with the Halter about his Neck, having nothing to plead in his own Favour, nothing to depend upon, but abused and forfeited Grace and Mercy.—Convinced Sinners commonly struggle a great while to get out of their Distresses, by some *self-righteous Attempt* or other. One while they'l make *Promises,* and take up Resolutions to watch their Hearts, and to reform their Lives: but alas! they find their Hearts are an inexhaustible Fountain of Corruption, which they cannot cleanse; Their Lusts get the Victory over all their good Designs and strongest Resolutions. Then they'l be ready to fly to *Duty;* and perhaps add new Duties to their old Courses; and hope by these to recommend themselves to God. But here also their Confidence withers away; they find so much deadness and dulness, so many sinful Thoughts and straying Affections in their best Performances, that they cannot hope for Safety from this Refuge. In this Distress, they'l perhaps be ready to flatter themselves with Safety from their

Convictions, from a Sense of their Vileness and Misery. They vainly hope that such Distress for their Sins, such Sorrow and Mourning, such earnest Desires of deliverance from their guilty perishing State, will move God to pity and relieve 'em. But alas! this Bed also will be found too short to stretch themselves upon. The blessed Spirit will still make them sensible that their Convictions, legal Terrors, and Sense of their own vileness and sinfulness, will no more serve to justify them in the Sight of God, than their Resolutions, their Reformations, or their Duties. And what shall they do in this Case? They now see that there is *no Refuge* but CHRIST only; and to Him they would therefore repair, were it not for the same *self-righteous* Principles still obtaining in them. They would commit their Souls to Christ for Salvation; but they can't think he will receive such poor guilty sinful Creatures as they are: They have hard Hearts, and corrupt Affections: They have not been sufficiently convinced of their Sins, or not sufficiently humbled: They have not the necessary Qualifications for coming to Christ and believing in him; and are therefore yet striving in their own Strength to obtain some Preparations, some Fitness of Soul for coming to Christ. But the Spirit of God won't leave those he designs for Mercy, in these unhappy Toils. He'll shew 'em, that they are not to hope, that the Case will ever be better, by any Thing they do or can do; that they neither have, nor ever will have any *Qualifications* at all to *recommend* them to Christ; that it's in vain to strive with their own Hearts, in vain to work in their own Strength, or with a dependance on Creature-Helps. . . .

I proceed to shew you in the next Place, that the *Spirit of God* does in an especial manner *bear Witness* to our Adoption, by working in us *a lively Faith in the Lord Jesus Christ.* We read in *Gal.* iii. 26, that *we are all the Children of God by Faith in Jesus Christ.* If therefore the Sense of our indigent helpless and hopeless Estate in our selves, which I have described, brings us to look to the Fulness and Sufficiency that there is in *Christ,* to receive him upon his own Terms, as revealed in the Gospel, and to depend upon him only as the *Author of our eternal Salvation;* we have therein good Evidence of a glorious Change wrought in us by the Spirit of God, and that *we are the Children of God;* for we are such *by Faith in Jesus Christ.*

This, my Brethren, is the great Concern, this the grand Point that we should be especially careful to clear up to ourselves. If this Foundation be well laid, we are happy for ever: But a Mistake here is the eternal Loss of our immortal Souls. Have we been bro't to yield our unfeigned Assent to Gospel-Truths, and our unfeigned Consent to Gospel-Terms, and to *live by the Faith of the Son of God?* Have we been brought to *rejoyce in Christ Jesus, and to have no Confidence in the Flesh?* Have we *esteem'd all Things as Loss and Dung, in Comparison of Christ, that we may be found in him, not having our own Righteousness which is of the Law, but that which is through the Faith of Christ, the Righteousness which is of God by Faith?* Have we valued an Interest in Christ above all the World; and chosen Him for the Portion of our Souls? Have we received the Lord Jesus Christ in all his Offices, and for all his Benefits? Have we depended only upon the Influences of his blessed Spirit, to renew, sanctify and quicken us; and upon his Righteousness alone, to justify us in the Sight of God? Have we submitted to him as our Lord, as well as our Saviour? Is his Throne set up in our Hearts; and do all the Powers of our Souls bow down to him? . . . Happy beyond Comparison is that Person, who upon an impartial Trial can find these Operations of a saving Faith in his Soul. It is the *Spirit himself,* that has *according to his abundant Mercy, begotten him again to a lively Hope;* and he has a Witness from Heaven to his Adoption & Justification; a Witness that cannot possibly deceive him. He may depend upon it, that *He which*

hath begun this good Work in him, will perform it unto the Day of Jesus Christ. The Match is concluded between Christ and his Soul. He may look upon this precious Saviour as his own for ever.

I must yet further go on to shew you, that *the Spirit witnesseth with our Spirits, that we are the Children of God,* by working in us a true sincere 1 *Love to God.* Alas, *Our carnal Minds are Enmity against God;* and this Enmity will remain and reign in the Heart of every Unbeliever, until the Spirit of God by his powerful Influences, renews the Sinner's Nature, sanctifies the Affections, and enables the Soul to live in the Love of God. And whenever this Change is wrought in us, we have thereby *the Witness of the Spirit himself,* to the Safety and Goodness of our State and Hope. Let us make sure of this; and the Case is plain. All Darkness and Doubts will vanish before the clear shining of this Evidence.—If upon a strict Inquisition into our own Hearts we can find, that we sincerely admire and adore the glorious Perfections of God's excellent Nature; and uprightly endeavour universal Conformity to his imitable Properties; and in particular, that we endeavour to be *holy, as our Father which in Heaven is holy:* If we esteem *God's Favour as Life,* and *his Loving-Kindness as better than Life:* If we love what God loveth, and hate what he hateth: If we love his Ordinances, and delight in drawing near to him: If we delight in Communion with God, and cannot content ourselves with an empty Ordinance, without God's special Presence with us therein: If we are greatly uneasy, when he hides his Face from us; and the *Light of his Countenance* is the greatest Joy, Satisfaction, and Comfort of our Souls: If our Imperfections and Sins are our Burthen, peculiarly because dishonourable to God, because against such Love and Compassion as he has manifested to us, and because of the base Ingratitude we are therein chargeable with: If we have much at Heart the Flourishing and Prosperity of his Kingdom and Interest in the World, and exert ourselves with Diligence in our respective Stations to promote it: . . . Then we may conclude we have the *Witness in ourselves,* that we are the Children of God,—Can these Things be the Productions of Nature? Are these the Fruits of that Fountain of Enmity to God, which we have formerly experienced in our own Hearts? No, It cannot be! *The Spirit himself* has wrought these gracious Affections and Dispositions in our Souls. And he thereby gives an incontestable Evidence of our renewed Natures. If *we love him, it is because he has first loved us,* 1 Joh. iv. 19—O that all my Hearers could upon good Grounds take the Comfort of what has been said! But alas! there is just Cause to fear, that the greatest Part of them are *Lovers of themselves,* and not of God; Lovers of their Lusts and sinful Pleasures, Lovers of the World, Neglecters of Godliness; or at the best but formal Protestors: and therefore whatever their Hopes and Expectations are, they can have *no Part or Lot in this Matter.* These do not *love the Lord Jesus Christ;* and therefore must be *Anathema Maranatha,* accursed when the Lord comes, 1 *Cor.* xvi. 22—Oh how different are these two Sorts of Persons; and how very different ought their Views and Expectations to be!

I must furthermore proceed to shew you, that the *Spirit of God beareth Witness with our Spirit,* to our Adoption, and to our Interest in the Favour of God, by giving us 2 *a Love to his Children.* We read 1 Joh. iii. 14. *We know that we are passed from Death to Life, because we love the Brethren.* This cannot imply, that a natural Affection to the Children of God, because of any Relation to 'em, or any personal Friendship, or because of their Kindness to us, their good Neighbourhood, or the like, is an Evidence of our Sanctification. Nor on the other Hand, does it imply, that as an Evidence of our Adoption, we must love or approve the Faults and Mistakes, the Errors and Imperfections of those whom we esteem the Children of God.

But it implies, that if we love the Persons, and especially the gracious Qualifications of those whom we have Reason to conclude the Children of God, for his Sake: if we love the Image of Christ wherever we see it, or wherever we think we see it (for there can be no infallible certainty in this Case) if we love the Brethren as Brethren, love their Company, love Communion and Fellowship with them in religious Exercises; and love an Imitation of them, labour after a Conformity to them in their Graces, their Piety, and vertuous Demeanour; it is a Witness for us, that we are born of God. *The Spirit himself* has wrought these gracious Affections in us. We were naturally in love with Sinners; and how comes it to pass, that their sinful Practices & their sinful Company and Fellowship become so grievous & burdensome to us? On the other Hand, we are naturally full of Enmity to the gracious Attainments, spiritual Dispositions, and religious Lives of the Saints; and how come they to be so delightful to us now? How come they to be our only chosen Companions? How come they to appear to us the only excellent ones of the Earth?

. . . And here I must confess, I am at once nonplus'd, in any Attempt to describe the unspeakable Light and Joy, that flows from this wonderful *Love of God shed abroad in the Heart* of a Believer, *by the Holy Ghost*. This is a *new Name written, which no Man knoweth, saving he that receiveth it.* (Rev. ii. 17.) As no Idea of sensible Objects can possibly be communicated to those that have not the proper Senses to perceive them; so neither can any just Conceptions of this *Fellowship of the Spirit*, this *Joy of the Holy Ghost,* be communicated to any but to those that have had the happy Experience of it in themselves. Thence it is, that some Persons from enthusiastick Heats, from working up their animal Affections and Passions, or else from diabolical Delusions, have pretended to these immediate Influences of the Spirit of God, where the Consequence has evidently shewn, they have been *Strangers, that have never intermedled with these* Divine *Joys.* This *Witness of the Spirit* is nevertheless distinguishable from any Counterfeits, or false Pretences whatsoever, not only by *its own Light,* which dispels all Doubts and Darkness of the Soul, and gives it an Earnest and Foretaste of its future Blessedness: But it may be also distinguish'd by the *concomitant Graces* of the Holy Spirit. If the Person thus signally favoured of God, has *before* experienced the ordinary Influences of the Grace of God, *renewing* his Nature, *enlightning* his Mind, and *sanctifying* his Heart; if this blessed Experience *humbles* the Soul at God's Foot, in an abasing Sense of his own Vileness and Unworthiness, and in an adoring View of God's distinguishing Mercy and Love to such a base and worthless Worm; if this *purifies the Heart,* and *purges the Conscience from dead Works to serve the living God;* if this mortifies remaining Lusts, makes the Affections more spiritual and heavenly, excites more ardent breathings after the eternal Inheritance; and inkindles a greater Zeal for the Glory of God, as the highest End; and if this be attained in a *Way of Duty;* and makes all the *Ordinances* of God more pleasant to the Soul; if it increases Devotion to God, and Benignity to Men: I say, if the Case be thus with any, he hath doubtless *the Witness of the Spirit himself,* and may well rejoyce *with Joy unspeakable and full of Glory.* —But all Pretences to this extraordinary *Witness of the Spirit,* which are *not* accompanied with these gracious Dispositions of Mind, are false and counterfeit, and are like to end in a dreadful Disappointment.

preached in the afternoon to a very thronged congregation. Visited one sick person, and administered the Holy Sacrament to another. For ever adored be the Divine goodness, the Gospel has taken root in many hearts. As soon as I come home, my house is generally filled with people desirous to join in psalms and prayers. They are so eager for the Bread of Life, that they scarcely give me time to take bodily refreshment and proper retirement in my closet. This afternoon I was carried out much in bearing my testimony against the unchristian principles and practices of our clergy. Three of my reverend brethren were present; I know not whether they were offended. I endeavoured to speak with meekness as well as zeal. Were I to convert Papists, my business would be to shew that they were misguided by their priests; and if I want to convince Church of England Protestants, I must prove that the generality of their teachers do not preach or live up to the truth as it is in Jesus. In vain do we hope to set people right till we demonstrate that the way which they have been taught is wrong.

> My life, my blood, I here present,
> If for Thy cause they may be spent,
> Fulfil Thy sovereign counsel, Lord,
> Thy will be done, Thy name adored.
> Give me Thy strength, O God of power;
> Then let winds blow, or thunders roar,
> Thy faithful witness will I be;
> 'Tis fixed: I can do all for Thee!

Trenton

PHILADELPHIA, BURLINGTON, AND TRENT TOWN IN THE JERSEYS.

1739 Monday, November 12. Left a large packet of letters, and some things for the press, to be sent by the *Constantine*, Captain Wright, to London. A man came to me this morning, telling me what God had done for his soul, by my preaching of faith. He seemed deeply convinced of sin, and said he was drawn by God's Spirit to pray last night, for which he was immediately looked upon by his master and the family, as a madman. I never yet knew one truly awakened, who did not commence a fool for Christ's sake. I have great reason to believe a good work is begun in many hearts. Lord, carry it on for Thy dear Son's sake. At my first arrival at Philadelphia, I received a letter, which had been left for me three months, and in which was a pressing invitation, sent me by Mr. Noble, (a spiritual man), on behalf of many others, to come to New York. On Friday, I received another from the same person; which, looking like the call given St. Paul, when the man appeared to him, saying, "Come over to Macedonia, and help us,'' I, this morning, set out for that place. Four horses were lent to me and my friends; and more we might have had, had there been occasion. About one, we got safe to Burlington, in the Jerseys, (twenty miles form Philadelphia), where I was importuned to preach as I went along. Immediately after dinner, I read prayers and preached in the church, to a mixed but thronged and attentive congregation. The poor people were very importunate for my staying with them all night, and giving them another discourse; but it being inconvenient with my business, with great regret, about five in the evening, we took our leave, and by eight o'clock reached Trent, another town in the Jerseys. It being dark, we went out of our way a little, in the woods; but God sent a guide to direct us aright.

1739 Tuesday, November 13. Left Trent at six in the morning, and reached Brunswick, thirty miles distant, at one. Here we were much refreshed with the company of Mr. Gilbert Tennent, an eminent Dissenting minister, about forty years of age, son of that good old man who came to see me on Saturday at Philadelphia. God, I find, has been pleased greatly to own his labours. He and his assocates are now the burning and shining lights of this part of America. Several pious souls came to see me at his house, with whom I took sweet counsel. At their request, and finding there was a general expectation of hearing me, I read the Church Liturgy, and preached in the evening at Mr. Tennent's meeting-house; for there is no place set apart for the worship of the Church of England, and it is common, I was told, in America, for the Dissenters and Conformists to worship at different times, in the same place. Oh, that the partition-wall were broken down, and we all with one heart and one mind could glorify our common Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ!

At my first getting up, I was somewhat weak, but God renewed my strength, and enabled me to speak with freedom and power. I was above an hour in my sermon, and I trust I shall hear it was not preached in vain. Paul may plant,

Apollos water; Thou, Lord, only canst give the increase.

1739

Wednesday, November 14. Set out from Brunswick, in company with my dear fellow-travellers, and my worthy brother and fellow-labourer, Mr. Tennent. As we passed along, we spent our time most agreeably in telling one another what God had done for our souls. He recounted to me many instances of God's striving with his heart, and how grace, at last, overcame all his fightings against God. About noon, we got to Elizabeth Town, twenty-two miles from Brunswick. Here we took boat, and at four reached New York, where we were most affectionately received by the family of Mr. Noble. I waited upon Mr. Vessey, the Commissary, but he was not at home. Then I went to the meeting-house to hear Mr. Gilbert Tennent preach, and never before heard such a searching sermon. He convinced me more and more that we can preach the Gospel of Christ no further than we have experienced the power of it in our own hearts. Being deeply convicted of sin, by God's Holy Spirit, at his first conversion, he has learned experimentally to dissect the heart of a natural man. Hypocrites must either soon be converted or enraged at his preaching. He is a son of thunder, and does not fear the faces of men. After sermon, we spent the evening together at Mr. Noble's house. My soul was humbled and melted down with a sense of God's mercies, and I found more and more what a babe and novice I was in the things of God. Blessed Jesus, grant I may make continual advances, until I come to a perfect man in Thee.

Thursday, November 15. Several came to see me at my lodgings, who also gave me kind invitations to their houses. Waited upon Mr. Vessey; but wished, for his own sake, he had behaved in a more Christian manner. He seemed to be full of anger and resentment, and before I asked him for the use of his pulpit, denied it. He desired to see my Letters of Orders, and, when I told him they were left at Philadelphia, he asked me for a license. I answered, I never heard that the Bishop of London gave any license to any one who went to preach the Gospel in Georgia; but that I was presented to the living of Savannah by the trustees, and upon that presentation had letters Dismissory from my lord of London, which I thought was sufficient authority. But this was by no means satisfactory to him; he charged me with breaking my oath, with breaking the Canon, which enjoins ministers and churchwardens not to admit persons into their pulpit without a license. How can I break that, when I am neither a churchwarden, nor have any church hereabouts to admit any one into? Upon this, knowing that he was a frequenter of public houses, I reminded him of that Canon which forbids the clergy to go to any such places. This, though spoken in the spirit of meekness, stirred him up more. He charged me with making a disturbance in Philadelphia, and sowing and causing divisions in other places. "But you," he said, "have a necessity laid upon you to preach." I told him I had, for the clergy and laity of our Church seemed to be settled on their lees; but that my end in preaching was not to sow divisions, but to propagate the pure Gospel of Jesus Christ. He said, "they did not want my assistance." I replied, if they preached the Gospel, I wished them good luck in the Name of the Lord; but as he had denied me the church without my asking the use of it, I would preach in the fields, for all places were alike to me. "Yes," he said, "I find you have been used to that." After this, he taxed me with censuring my superiors. I told him I was no respecter of persons; if a bishop committed a fault, I would tell him of it; if a common clergyman did not act aright, I would be free with him also, as well as with a layman. Whilst we were talking, he called for some wine, and I drank his health. Soon after, he rose up, saying he had business to do, and, as we were going out, full of resentment, he said to Mr. Noble, who accompanied me and brother Seward, "Mr. Noble, as you sent for this gentleman, so I desire you will find him a pulpit." Alas! alas! what manner of spirit are the generality of the clergy possessed with? Is this the spirit of the meek Lamb of God? Are these the fruits of the Holy Ghost? It cannot be. Their bigotry, if it was nothing else, in time would destroy them. Lord, for Thy mercy's sake, lighten their darkness, and grant that many of the priests also may be obedient to the faith.

Dined with Mr. Pemberton, the Presbyterian minister. Preached in the fields, to upwards of two thousand, at three in the afternoon; and expounded, at six in the evening, to a very thronged and attentive audience in Mr. Pemberton's meeting-house. At first, for the sake of my weak brethren,

lieve, than two thousand hearers. When I had done, Peter Bohler, a deacon of the Moravian Church, a dear lover of our Lord Jesus Christ, preached to his countrymen in GERMAN Dutch. Travelling and preaching in the sun again, weakened me much and made me very sick; but by the Divine assistance, I took horse, rode twelve miles, and preached in the evening to about three thousand people at a Dutchman's plantation (*), who seemed to have drunk deeply of God's Holy Spirit. The German Brethren were exceeding loving to me, and I spent the evening with many of them in a most agreeable manner. The order, seriousness, and devotion of these people in common life, is most worthy of imitation. They prayed and sung in *their* language, and then God enlarged my heart to pray in *ours*.

AMWELL IN THE EAST JERSEYS.

1740 Friday, April 25. Rose before day. Sung and prayed with my own friends and the German Brethren. Set out before sunrising, and reached Amwell, thirty-five miles from Shippack, where I had appointed to preach by six at night. Some thousands of people were gathered together, expecting I would have been there by noon; but Mr. Gilbert Tennent, and Mr. Rowland, mentioned in my last *Journal*, coming there to meet me, had given the people three sermons. In my way thither, I was brought low by inward trials, and very great weakness of body, occasioned by the heat of the sun, want of sleep, and the length of the journey; but before I had preached six minutes, bodily and spiritual strength was given me, and the Lord set His seal to what He enabled me to deliver. After sermon, a friend took me in his Sedan chair to an old Christian's, who invited me and my company to his house, five miles distant from the place where I preached.

NEW BRUNSWICK.

1740 Saturday, April 26. Was much comforted and refreshed both in body and soul last night, after I went to rest. Sung psalms, prayed, and set out for New Brunswick about eight.

(*) Henry Anti's.

Reached thither by four in the afternoon, and preached to about two thousand hearers in the evening. Many were affected. Here, also, my true Christian friend and host, Mr. Noble, from New York, gave me the meeting, and brought me a packet of letters from Savannah. I trust, many of my friends in the Orphan House will be friends of God. Grant this, O Lord, for Thy mercies' sake!

Sunday, April 27. Was told me last night by Mr. Gilbert Tennent, of two that were savingly brought home by my ministry, when here last. Got a little time to write a letter to my English friends, giving them a short account of what God was doing here. Preached morning and evening to near seven or eight thousand people. In the afternoon sermon, had I proceeded, I believe the cries and groans of the congregation would have drowned my voice. One woman was struck down, and a general cry went through the assembly. We collected both times upwards of £20 sterling for my Savannah orphans. At night a woman came to me under strong convictions. She told me she had often been somewhat moved; but now, she hoped God had struck her home. She cried out, "I can see nothing but hell!" Oh that all were in as good a way to Heaven.

BRUNSWICK, WOODBRIDGE, ELIZABETH TOWN AND NEW YORK.

1740 Monday, April 28. Underwent great conflicts in my soul last night and this morning. Wrote some letters to my dear English friends, who are continually upon my heart. Took a sorrowful leave of Captain Gladman, and my dear brother and fellow-traveller, Mr. Seward, whom I have dispatched to England to bring me over a fellow-labourer, and to transact several affairs of importance. Captain Gladman is the person mentioned in my last *Journal*, who was cast away in the Gulf of Florida, and whom God made me the instrument of converting in my passage to England. Hitherto he has had the command of our sloop; but being obliged to dispatch him on business to England, I have now committed the care of it to his mate, whom God was pleased to bring home to Himself when I was last at Philadelphia. Not long since he was an abandoned prodigal, and ringleader in vice; but God struck him to the heart. Captain Gladman had prayed that God would send him a mate. This young man was strongly

drawn to come and offer himself; the Captain hired him; and now, I believe, he is a child of God.

Set out about eight in the morning, and reached Woodbridge by ten, where I preached to about two thousand people. Here, again, my bodily strength was small; but God enabled me to speak home to many hearts; for many were affected. After sermon, I and my friends dined at the Dissenting minister's house, who invited me to preach; and then we hastened to Elizabeth Town, where the people had been waiting for me some hours. I preached in the meeting-house, like I did when I was there last. It was full, and was supposed to contain two thousand people. Ten Dissenting ministers were present, and two Church ministers; but they did not tarry very long. God gave me much freedom of speech. I dealt very plainly with the Presbyterian clergy, many of whom, I am persuaded, preach the doctrines of grace to others, without being converted themselves. No doubt, some were offended: but I care not for any sect or party of men. As I love all who love the Lord Jesus, of what communion soever; so I reprove all, whether Dissenters, or not Dissenters, who take His Word into their mouths, but never felt Him dwelling in their hearts. ?

After sermon, I took leave of Mr. Gilbert Tennent and Mr. Cross, who accompanied me thus far, and told me their souls were much refreshed by this day's work.

After I parted from them, I intended to ride six miles; but being overruled by the advice of friends, I stopped, and lay at an inn all night, near the waterside, where people take boat to go to New York. Here I had an appetite for my food, which I have not had before for some time. Surely this frail body cannot hold me long. When, O Lord, wilt Thou set my imprisoned soul at liberty! When shall I be dissolved and be with Thee, O Christ! Lord, give me patience to wait till that blessed time come.

NEW YORK.

1740 Tuesday, April 29. Took boat about nine in the morning, and 3hr was blessed with a fair gale of wind, which brought us to New York before noon. Here my dear friends kindly received me, and here also, I met with Mr. William Tennent, who ~~father?~~ Jr refreshed my heart by telling me what the Lord was doing

Ulster Co?

for numbers of souls in the Highlands, where he has lately been. Surely Jesus Christ is getting Himself the victory indeed! About five in the evening, I preached on the common to five or six thousand people, but observed no scoffers, as there were when I was here last. The people were still and quiet after I began; and, though I did not perceive much power in the congregation, yet God enabled me to speak with all boldness. Oh that I may never be ashamed of Christ or of His Gospel; for it has been the Power of God to my salvation. O grace! grace!

Wednesday, April 30. Preached this morning from a scaffold, erected for that purpose, to a somewhat less congregation than last night, but with much greater power; for towards the conclusion of my discourse, God's Spirit came upon the preacher and the people, so that they were melted down exceedingly. Afterwards, I began to collect money from private hands for my orphans, and met with success. Blessed be God, Who has the hearts of all men in His hands. Dined at Mr. P......'s, but was obliged to retire as soon as dinner was over; for my body was weak, and my soul was in an unspeakable agony for near an hour. At length I dropped asleep, but rose about five in the evening, and preached to upwards of seven thousand people on our Lord's temptations. Oh that I may follow the Captain of my salvation, and be willing to be tempted in all things like unto my brethren, that I may be experimentally able to succour such as apply to me when tempted! Amen Lord Jesus, Amen.

FLAT BUSH CN LONG ISLAND.

Thursday, May 1. Went in a ferry this morning, over to Flat Bush on Long Island, on the east part of which, God has lately begun a most glorious work, by the ministry of two young Presbyterian ministers, who have walked in the light of God's countenance for a long while together. Prosper Thou, O Lord, more and more the work of their hands upon them. Oh prosper Thou their handiwork!

At our coming to Flat Bush, the Dutch ministers received me with all civility, and gave me the use of their church. There were also seven or eight Dissenting ministers present. I continued discoursing on the knowledge of Jesus Christ, near

I mentioned what God had done for their souls formerly, it was like putting fire to tinder. The remembrance of it caused many to weep sorely. After a little refreshment, we crossed the ferry to Northampton, where no less than three (1735) hundred souls were saved about five years ago. Their pastor's name is Edwards (*), successor and grandson to the great Stoddard, whose memory will be always precious to my soul, and whose books entitled "A Guide to Christ," and "Safety of appearing in Christ's Righteousness," I would recommend to all. Mr. Edwards is a solid, excellent Christian, but, at present, weak in body. I think, I have not see his fellow in all New England. When I came into his pulpit, I found my heart drawn out to talk of scarce anything besides the consolations and privileges of saints, and the plentiful effusion of the Spirit upon believers. When I came to remind them of their former experiences, and how zealous and lively they were at that time, both minister and people wept much. In the evening, I gave a word of exhortation to several who came to Mr. Edwards's house. My body was weak, and my appetite almost gone; but my Lord gave me meat, which the world knows nothing of. Lord, evermore give me this bread! Amen and Amen.

Hatfield

Hadfield and Northampton.

1740 Saturday, October 18. At Mr. Edwards's request, I spoke to his little children, who were much affected. Preached at Hadfield, five miles from Northampton, but found myself not much strengthened. Preached at four in the afternoon to Mr. Edwards's congregation. I began with fear and trembling, but God assisted me. Few eyes were dry in the assembly. I had an affecting prospect of the glories of the upper world, and was enabled to speak with some degree of pathos. It seemed as if a time of refreshing was come from the presence of the Lord.

Northampton.

Sunday, October 19. Felt great satisfaction in being at

the house of Mr. Edwards. A sweeter couple I have not yet seen. Their children were not dressed in silks and satins, but plain, as become the children of those who, in all things, ought to be examples of Christian simplicity. Mrs. Edwards is adorned with a meek and quiet spirit; she talked solidly of the things of God, and seemed to be such a helpmeet for her husband, that she caused me to renew those prayers, which, for some months, I have put up to God, that He would be pleased to send me a daughter of Abraham to be my wife. Lord, I desire to have no choice of my own. Thou knowest my circumstances; Thou knowest I only desire to marry in and for Thee. Thou didst choose a Rebecca for Isaac, choose one to be a helpmeet for me, in carrying on that great work which is committed to my charge. Preached this morning, and good Mr. Edwards wept during the whole time of exercise. The people were equally affected; and, in the afternoon, the power increased yet more. Our Lord seemed to keep the good wine till the last. I have not seen four such gracious meetings together since my arrival. Oh, that my soul may be refreshed with the joyful news, that Northampton people have recovered their first love; that the Lord has revived His work in their souls, and caused them to do their first works!

Westfield and Springfield

Monday, October 20. Left Northampton in the evening, and rode eighteen miles to Westfield, where I conversed with a poor woman on a sick bed, who gave an account of our Lord's redeeming love to her. Met with a little book, written by Dr. Cotton Mather, entitled, "The Ornaments of the Daughters of Zion," which I would recommend to all, especially the Boston ladies. Preached the next morning to a considerable congregation. Hastened to Springfield, ten miles from Westfield, crossed a ferry, preached to a large auditory, and then returned and preached to those who could not get over the ferry, by reason of the wind. The meeting-house was full. After I left Springfield, my horse, coming over a broken bridge, threw me over his head, directly upon my nose. I was stunned for awhile, my mouth was full of dust, and I bled a little; but, falling upon soft sand, I got not

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(*) The celebrated Jonathan Edwards, author of *Freedom of the Will.*

much damage. After I had recovered myself, and mounted my horse, God so filled me with a sense of His sovereign, distinguishing love, that my eyes filled with tears; but they were all tears of love. Oh, how I wanted to sink before the High and Lofty One, Who inhabiteth eternity. I felt myself less than nothing; and yet knew that Jesus was my All in All. We stopped at a friend's house, about four miles from Springfield; and, after refreshment, went to rest, desiring to be thankful for the peculiar favours conferred upon me the past night. Lord, they are noted in Thy Book. Oh, let them be also written on the tables of my heart!

SUFFIELD AND WINDSOR.

1740

Tuesday, October 21. Set out for Suffield, which is about eight miles from the place where I lay. Reached thither, and preached at eleven o'clock to several thousands of people. Meeting with a minister in the way who said "it was not absolutely necessary for a Gospel minister, that he should be converted,'' I insisted much in my discourse upon the doctrine of the new birth, and also the necessity of a minister being converted, before he could preach Christ aright. The Word came with great power, and a strong impression was made upon the people in all parts of the assembly. Many ministers were present. I did not spare them. Most of them thanked me for my plain dealing. One of them, however, was offended; and so would more of his stamp, if I were to continue longer in New England. Unconverted ministers are the bane of the Christian Church. I honour the memory of that great and good man, Mr. Stoddard; but I think he is much to be blamed for endeavouring to prove that unconverted men may be admitted into the ministry. How he has handled the controversy, I know not; but I believe no solid argument can be brought to defend such a doctrine (*). But the best of men are permitted to err, that we may know they are but men. A sermon lately published by Mr. Gilbert Tennent, entitled, "The Danger of an Unconverted Ministry,'' I think unanswerable. As I was riding to Windsor, after dinner, an old man came up to me, saying he "knew what I had preached in the morning was true,'' for he had felt it. "I was under the spirit of bondage twenty years'' he said, "and have received the spirit of adoption twenty-three years.'' The people of God seemed much revived at Windsor, where a converted man is minister. As soon as sermon was over, I rode a mile and a half, and preached to a thronged congregation, belonging to old Mr. Edwards, father of Mr. Edwards of Northampton. After exercise, we supped at the house of old Mr. Edwards. His wife was as aged, I believe, as himself, and I fancied that I was sitting in the house of a Zacharias and Elizabeth. I parted from him and Jonathan his son (who came with me thus far) with regret; but, blessed be God, we shall meet in eternity! Lord, grant that I may always comfort myself with this thought!

HERTFORD AND WEATHERSFIELD.

Wednesday, October 22. Preached, in the morning, to many thousands, with much freedom and power; and, in the afternoon, to about the same number, at Weathersfield, three miles from Hertford. Here, I was refreshed by the coming of Messrs. Wheelock and Pomeroy, two young, faithful, and zealous ministers of Jesus Christ. This morning I intended to go and preach at both their places, and also to Plymouth, Rhode Island, etc.; but, after prayer and consultation with my friends, I resolved to proceed directly to New York. Accordingly, at night, I rode to Middletown, ten miles from Weathersfield, and was entertained at the house of Mr. Russell, the minister of the place.

MIDDLETOWN AND WALLINGFORD.

Tuesday, October 23. I was much pleased with the simplicity of our host, and the order wherewith his children attended their family devotions. Preached to about four thousand people at eleven o'clock, and, again, in the afternoon at Wallingford, fourteen miles from Middletown. I then rode to New Haven, fourteen miles further, where I was affec-

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(*) It is curious to note, in connection with this, that while Edwards's grand-father had held those lax views, Edwards himself, resigned his pastorate in 1750, through a bitter dispute with his people in which he advocated a return to the earlier Congregational rule of refusing to admit persons to communion who were not consciously converted; and about the circulation of certain books which he considered immoral.

what he wanted? He answered, Christ. After sermon, Mr. Cross gave notice of an evening lecture in his barn, two miles off. Thither we went,and a great multitude followed. Mr. Gilbert Tennent preached first; and I then began to pray, and gave an exhortation. In about six minutes, one cried out, "He is come, He is come!", and could scarce sustain the manifestation of Jesus to his soul. The eager crying of others, for the like favour, obliged me to stop; and I prayed over them, as I saw their agonies and distress increase. At length we sung a hymn, and then retired to the house, where the man that received Christ continued praising and speaking of Him till near midnight. My own soul was so full that I retired, and wept before the Lord, under a deep sense of my own vileness, and the sovereignty and greatness of God's everlasting love. Most of the people spent the remainder of the night in prayer and praises. It was a night much to be remembered.

BASKINRIDGE AND NEW BRUNSWICK.

1740

Thursday, Nov. 6. After breakfast this morning, at the desire of Mr. Cross, I went and gave a word of exhortation to, and sung and prayed with a few people in the barn. Before I mounted my horse, many came to me under great concern of soul. A lad about thirteen years old, told me, "he never felt sin till yesterday." A poor negro woman said "she was filled with a love of Christ," and, being too fond of the instrument, would fain have gone with me. Her master consented; but I bid her go home, and with a thankful heart serve her present master. When I was upon my horse several women came to shake me by the hand. I asked one "whether she knew Christ?" She said "Yes." "How long?" "Three years the third Sunday in next March," she answered. I asked another the same question. She replied, "Yes, but I am waiting for a fresh breathing from the Blessed Spirit." I took my leave of them, and rode in company with many children of God to New Brunswick, twenty-three miles from Baskinridge. Here letters awaited me from Savannah, acquainting me that there had been a great mortality among the people of that place, though the orphans continued very healthy; and that a minister was coming over to supply my place at Savannah. This last much rejoiced me, having resolved to give up the Savannah living as soon as I arrived at Georgia. A parish and the Orphan House together are too much for me; besides, God seems to shew me it is my duty to evangelise, and not to fix in any particular place. In the evening I preached in Mr. Gilbert Tennent's meeting-house. A little after, Mr. B. (a young minister, who, I hope, will hereafter come fairly out for God) preached for about an hour, and then, at the desire of Mr. Tennent, I concluded with a word of exhortation. And after sermon, in private prayer with my friends, oh, how did my loving Saviour cause my cup to overflow! He permitted me to talk with Him as a man talketh with his friend. This I take to be that freedom of speech which St. Paul speaks of, and through the Lord Jesus believers have access to the Father. Oh, the happiness of those who are born again of God.

NEW BRUNSWICK AND TRENTON.

Friday, Nov. 7. I had some thoughts of going to Freehold and Shrewsbury, but was prevented by the coming of Mr. William Tennent, whom I wanted to consult about his brother Gilbert going to Boston. He (diffident of himself) was at first unwilling, urging his inability for so great a work; but afterwards, being convinced it was the Divine will, he said, "the will of the Lord be done." With him also, Mr. R. is to go. He is a young minister, one of the tutors of Cambridge College, whom I brought with a view that he should return with Mr. Tennent. God has been pleased to work upon his heart by my ministry. I cannot but think he will be a burning and a shining light. It being the last time we should be together for a long season, we thought it best to spend some time in prayer together. Mr. Gilbert was our mouth to God. Many were greatly affected. About eleven o'clock we parted in tears, but with a full assurance that we should see and hear great things before we met again. I then went on towards Trenton, in company with Mr. Davenport and some others. The Lord was with us on the way. I retired as soon as I came to Trenton, and lay silently before the Lord. He heard the cry of my heart, and filled it with His abundant presence.

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RELIGIOUS FOUNDATIONS OF AMERICA

by E. S. Gaustad - Faith of our Fathers

Catholic influence of Spain and France:
17th century Jesuit, Dominican, Franciscan priests and frairs with explorers - Columbus, Ponce de Leon, Marquette,

Protestant pluralism, diversity, dissenters

Faith of our fathers:

Benjamine Franklin (1706-1790)
deist, freethinker

Poor Richard's Almanac - proverbs known in every household, similar to Solomon's. "Serving God is going good to man, but praying is thought an easier service and therefore is more generally chosen". His almanac earned him profit so he could retire from printing business at age 42 to serve his fellowman in science and the political arena.
1740s - a great admirer of Geo. Whitefield' ; printed his sermons.

1773 - He admitted to Samuel Mather that teology was not his keenest concern. Did not claim to be a Christian, but gave his creed, at age 83, 5 weeks before his death: "Here is my Creed. I believe in one God, Creator of the Universe: That he governs the World by his Providence. That he ought to be worshipped. That the most acceptable Service we can render to him, is doing good to his other Children. That the Soul of Man is immortal, and will be treated with Justice in n another Life, respecting its Conduct in this. These I take to be the fundamental Principles of all sound Religion, and I regard them as you do, in whatever Sect I meet with them:."

He doubted the divinity of Jesus, but that he had the best system of morals and religion that "the World ever saw".

In Science, he discovered electricity, invented lightning rod, the Franklin stove, bifocals; founded fire companies and libraries, postal system. Investigated relationship between heat and color of clothing, the Gulf Stream to trans-atlantic navigation, and studied the connections of tides to rivers, and sunspots to storms.

He died Arpil 1790; thousands to his funeral.

George Washington - 1732- Dec. 1799. Anglican vestryman; bp, married, and buried in the church of his childhood.

Acknowledge the all powerful Providence who governed human affairs and destiny of nations. "Praise is due to the Grand Architect of the Universe: All Wise Creator: Higher Cause; Great Ruler of Events: the Supreme Dispenser of all Godd;

In the framing of the Constitution, as in the winning of the Revolution, he saw the steady providential hand. "To that superintending Power alone is our retraction from the brink of ruin to be attributed".

Constitution:

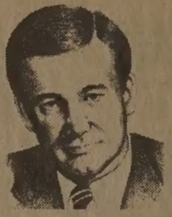
Sojourner Truth: "I take hold of this Constitution and it looks might big, and I feel for my rights, but there ain't any there".

Abigail Adams to John in 1776: "In the new Code of Laws which I suppose it will be necessary for you to make, I desire you would Remember the Ladies, and be more generous and favourable to them than your ancestors. Do not put such unlimited power in the hands of Husbands. Remember all Men would be tyrants if they could".

It acknowledged no God, permitted no national church, affirmed no faith, recognized no church, pledged loyalty to no God, asserted that no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office - The majority were offended. One NH man said , "a Turk, Jew, Roman Catholic, a Universalist, may be Pres of the U.S."

Some States took steps to fill the religious vacuum; st. const. did required public officials to be Christian, such as Dela and Md.; Pa. required a belief in ~~Godx~~ a God, and a future state of rewards and punishments. Tenn. excluded from office anyone who denied the being of God, or a future state of rewards and punishments, but at the same time assert that no religious test shall ever be required - an ambivalence, maybe referring to differences between Bapt. and Meth, not atheists. Some states required all officeholders to be Protestant. such as N.J., Ga, S.C. Mass; N.H. all in the 1700s. By constitutional provision, texes for the support of Christianity were colleted in Md, Mass and N.H. long after the Revolution was over and the federal Constitution adopted.

The forgotten heroes of 1776



Patrick Buchanan

History may view it differently, but one senses we are living today in unheroic times. Our senators argue the cruciality of their retaining free parking space at National Airport, while our president wails that no other one leader has suffered as he has been made to suffer — at the hands of those cynical radio talk show hosts.

Contrast this self-indulgence and self-pity with the spirit of the forgotten heroes of 1776, the men who pledged "lives, fortunes and sacred honor" to defend their Declaration of Independence.

Disaster struck "Honest John" Hart first. Just months after he signed, British and Hessian troops invaded New Jersey, forcing him and his family to flee. His wife did not survive. Broken in health from hiding in barns all winter, Hart went home to find his farm destroyed. Rebuilding proved too great a task. By the spring of 1779, John Hart was dead.

New Jersey's Richard Stockton suffered a similar fate.

After rescuing his wife and children from advancing British troops, he was betrayed by a loyalist, imprisoned, beaten and nearly starved. He returned an invalid to find his home gutted, his library and papers burned. He, too, never recovered, dying in 1781 a broken man.

Hart and Stockton lost everything they had except honor.

Two of the soldier sons of New Jersey's Abraham Clark were captured by the British and so horribly treated — one was locked up in the dungeon of the notorious prison ship Jersey without food or light — that Washington himself wrote in rage and disgust to General Howe.

William Ellery of Rhode Island, who marveled that he had seen only "undaunted resolution" in the faces of his co-signers, had his home burned also. Francis Lewis' Long Island home, too, was looted and gutted, his wife thrown into a damp, dark prison cell without a bed. Health ruined, Mrs. Lewis died in two years. Lewis' son would die in British captivity.

Not until 1783 did William Floyd return to Long Island. By then, his wife, too, was dead. His fields had been stripped, his machinery destroyed, his home plundered — used as a barracks.

Only days after Lewis Morris of New York signed, British troops ravaged his 2,000-acre estate, butchered his cattle and drove his family off the land. Three of Morris' sons fought the British.

time is now at hand, when we virtue

New Hampshire had said at Philadelphia. In that summer of '76, she surely did.

When the British seized the New York houses of the wealthy Philip Livingston, he sold off everything else, gave the money to the revolution and died in 1778. Hearing that George Clymer had signed, the British sent a detachment 20 miles west of Philadelphia to destroy his home. His wife and children fled into the woods. Clymer took his remaining fortune, invested it in Continental dollars, urged fellow merchants to do the same and enlisted to fight as a captain.

Arthur Middleton, Edward Rutledge and Thomas Heyward Jr. went home to South Carolina to fight. In the British invasion of the South, Heyward was wounded and all three were captured. As he rotted on a prison ship in St. Augustine, Heyward's plantation was raided, buildings burned and his wife, who witnessed it all, died. Other Southern signers suffered the same fate.

Among the first to sign had been John Hancock, who wrote in a big, bold script so George III "could read my name without spectacles and could now double his reward for 500 pounds for my head." If the cause of the revolution commands it, Hancock roared, "Burn Boston and make John Hancock a beggar!"

Here were men who believed in a cause far beyond themselves.

These stories of what became of the men who defied a king to give birth to a country were lovingly gathered by a great patriot, former Gov. Meldrim Thomson Jr. of New Hampshire. Gov. Thomson put them all in his patriots' book, "One Hundred Famous Founders."

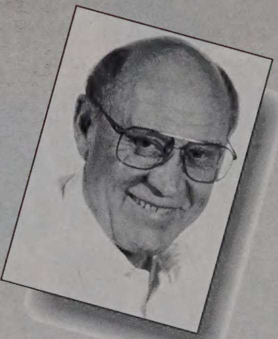
As Governor Thomson relates, on his death bed John Adams, most famous of the signers save only Thomas Jefferson who had taken the presidency from him, was asked to make a toast.

"Independence forever!" Adams cried. That was the spirit of the old man, as it had been of the young. He and Jefferson, with whom he had long since reconciled, died the same day, July 4, 1826, 50 years to the day they had together cast their votes for American independence.

We shall not see their like again.

an author and commentator

Reflections On The 4th Of July



This day, July 4th, is the day we celebrate the birth of our nation. Amidst barbecues and a day from work, it is appropriate that we reflect on the history of our great Country. The birth of America was one of strife and our history is one that has been dotted with wars, conflicts, peace, and prosperity. The "how" and "why" of our beloved Republic are probably much better known than the "who."

I have had in my possession for a long time a book that describes the lives of the 56 signers of the *Declaration of Independence* after they signed this historical document which in the last paragraph states, "We mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor." Thomas Jefferson finished a draft of the document in 17 days. Congress adopted it in July. This pact, as it was later stated, was a partnership between the living, the dead, and the yet unborn. The names of the signers were kept secret for six months because the punishment for treason was hanging. The 56 risked everything by signing, and they paid the price.

- Carter Braxton of Virginia, wealthy planter and trader, saw his ships swept from the seas. To pay his debts, he lost his home and all his property and died in rags.
- Thomas Lynch, Jr., in failing health, set out for France with his wife to regain his health. Their ship never got to France and was never heard from again.
- Thomas McKean of Delaware was so harassed by the enemy, he moved his family five times in five months, living in poverty and in hiding.
- Vandals looted the properties of Ellery, Glymer, Hall, Gwinnett, Walton, Heyward, Rutledge, and Meddleton.
- Thomas Nelson, Jr. of Virginia urged General Washington to fire on his own home that was being occupied by Cornwallis in the battle for Yorktown. It was destroyed. He died bankrupt and was buried in an unmarked grave.
- The Hessians seized the home of Francis Hopinson of New Jersey.
- Richard Stockton and Thomas Heyward, Jr. were captured and tortured.
- Francis Lewis had his home and everything destroyed; his wife was imprisoned and she died within a few months.
- John Hart was separated from his family. For more than a year, he lived in forests and caves and returned home after the war to find his wife dead, their 13 children gone and his property destroyed.
- Lewis Morris saw his land destroyed, his family scattered.
- Philip Livingston died within a few months from the hardships of war.
- John Hancock, one of the wealthiest men in New England, stood outside of Boston one terrible night of the war and said, "Burn Boston, though it makes John Hancock a beggar, if the public good requires it." He, too, lived up to the pledge.

Of the 56, few were long to survive.

- Five were captured by the British and tortured before they died. Twelve had their homes ransacked, looted, occupied, or burned. Two lost their sons in the army. One had two sons captured. Nine died in the war.

What brought all of this to my mind is that recently the newspapers, magazines, and television have been commemorating the 50th anniversary of Normandy and the beginning of the end of World War II. I could not think about this event without remembering Vietnam, World War I, and the other strifes that are a part of our history. One also has to include the great events in technology as well as the settling of the west and the pioneer spirit that existed in America then and now. Gallant women and men in America have always been willing to give their best, including laying down their lives so that you and I can continue to live in a free democracy and help charter the course of our Country.

I think it only fitting that on this July 4, 1994, we pause to pay homage and reflect on the history of this great Country. A recollection of the events that have brought you and me to this point certainly puts a new meaning on what July 4th really means.

The original 56 signers of the Declaration of Independence were only the beginning of "Our Lives, Our Fortunes, Our Sacred Honor."

Ray E. Clifton

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He's 50 years old this year and the folks of Capitan, New Mexico, and the personnel of the Lincoln National Forest are throwing big birthday bashes for their most famous native son. From May 14 to August 14, 1994, they're inviting visitors to join the fun and celebrations honoring Smokey Bear, guardian of our nation's forests.

Yes, although Smokey is a symbol of our forests, he was a real bear! Back in 1950, a carelessly discarded cigarette started a raging fire in the Los Tablos area of New Mexico's Lincoln National Forest. Two days later, another human-caused fire roared through nearby Capitan Gap. The two fires ravaged 17,000 acres of forest and grassland, doing untold damage to the wildlife and environment of this thickly forested Eden.

Firefighters battled the holocaust bravely, but a 70 mile per hour wind sprang up, making the blaze impossible to control. It spread and continued to rage. Finally, against all odds, the inferno was gradually brought under control. Then on May 9, a fire crew burst into a burnt-over clearing that still held smoldering trees. Hearing whimpering, the men followed the sound to find a bear cub clinging to a burnt pine. The terrified little creature had badly burned feet and rump and had lost a lot of weight.

Smokey takes batting practice at Oakland, California, in 1984.

289.6 T66c

Townsend Chron of Soc of Friends

Chronology.

1638 1624 Birth of George Fox at Drayton, Leicestershire. T.C. in Boston; 1642 - T.C. on L.Is.

1643 Period of greatest spiritual distress to George
–46 Fox. Journeyings and questionings.

1644 Beginning of quickening in Leicestershire.

1645 Beginning of quickening in Warwickshire.

1646 Beginning of quickening in Nottinghamshire.

1647 Beginning of quickening in Derbyshire.

1648 Beginning of quickening in adjacent counties of
–50 middle England.

1648 Testimony of blood of Christ at a meeting of "professors."

1649 Travels through Nottingham, Leicester and
–50 Derbyshire.

1649 Testimony of true church at meeting of several sects at Leicester.

First imprisonment of George Fox, at Nottingham.

Meetings at Sheriff Reckless' house.

1650 Release from prison.

Elizabeth Hooten begins preaching in Nottinghamshire. TC on Ports, town council

Arrest of George Fox at Derby.

Commitment to six months' imprisonment in house of correction for "blasphemous" opinions.

Justice Bennet gives Fox and his followers the name Quakers.

1651 Refusal of offers of release.

QUAKER

1651 Testimony against war, oaths, mismanagement of prisons and death penalty.

Release from prison beginning of winter.

Journey through Leicestershire, Staffordshire (visit to Lichfield), Nottingham, Derby into Yorkshire. 12/5 - TC willed est to Rebecca.

1651 Winter in Yorkshire.
–52 Establishment of meetings in Yorkshire.

1652 Entered Westmoreland early in spring.

Meeting at Firbank Chapel. Convincement of Francis Howgill, John Camm, John and Ann Audland, probably Richard Hubberthorn.

Flush + Gravesend

Meetings in Westmoreland. Chas Bridges (s/o Sara²) Exe Sec for P Stuy
Sara C. " - Wall st. merchant
T.C. on coroners jury in 1653

Visit at Swarthmore Hall, Lancashire.

Convincement of Margaret Fell and others of household.

Imprisonment of James Nayler and Francis Howgill at Appleby.

Attack on Friends at Walney Island and Ulverstone.

Warrant for Fox granted by Justices Sawrey and Thompson.

Protection of Judge Fell and Colonel West.

Vindication of Fox at Lancaster assizes.

Meeting settled at Swarthmore.

Preaching by about twenty ministers.

Persecution in Westmoreland and Lancashire.

1653 Long Parliament dissolved.

Visit of George Fox to Cumberland.

1653 Commitment to prison as blasphemer, heretic and seducer at Carlisle.

Visit of James Parnel to George Fox in Carlisle prison.

Unavailing efforts for release by Anthony Pearson and Justice Benson.

Release of George Fox.

Some meetings settled in north of England.

Journey through Westmoreland to Swarthmore.

Return to Cumberland.

Journey through Durham, Northumberland and Cumberland.

Imprisonment of Robert Widders at Carlisle.

General persecution of Friends in North.

Great increase in Friends' meetings.

First public whipping of Friends—Mary Fisher and Elizabeth Williams, Cambridge, England.

Meetings held in south of Scotland.

1654 - TC - comm 4 towns prov Plan
RWms letter to Mass re TC
TC neighbor of W. Baulston.

II.

EXTENSION.

1654–1659.

THE six years beginning with 1654 and ending with 1659 may be said to comprise the period of the Society's Extension. In 1654 Friendliness secured a foothold in Ireland, Scotland and Wales, while northern preachers, scattering over England, established several centres of influence in the eastern and southwestern parts of that country. By 1660 meetings were settled over all England and Wales, the larger part of Ireland, and about half of Scotland. This was also a period of foreign activity. Friendly missionaries travelled across the continent, visited the Levant, and crossed the Atlantic to the British colonies in the West Indian islands, and the North American Coast. As a result, meetings were settled in Holland and some parts of Germany, in the Barbadoes and adjacent islands, and in New England Long Island, Maryland and Virginia.

THINGS TO DO TODAY

DAY FED CNTR.

Appointments and Telephone Calls:

SOUNDEX
1. Ck for Sarah A. Cole Grubb Moses
Census 1900 at Richwood, Ohio
2. J. Dodd's 1st wife + sons in Vernon Co Mo

Done ✓

1. ☐
2. ☐
3. ☐
4. ☐
5. ☐
6. ☐
7. ☐
8. DPL Fulbig ☐
9. Okla. County History ~~for (1. Wash Co~~ — Vera ☐
10. Names: for VERA ~~(2. Pawnee Co - Maramac~~ ☐
Old Jim Taylor - Ind.
11. Old Foreman Ford ~~(3. Ottawa Co. [Seneca]~~ ☐
12. Old Jack Parkhill - Ind. ☐
13. Red Fork (or Fort) - Ind trading post on Caney R. ☐
14. Neff (or Naff) - negro Ind ☐
Old Bill Cook & Old Cherokee Bill = outlaws
McMullen (Mildred Grubb's gdfather)

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Chronology.

1654 About sixty persons in ministry.

Introduction of Friends' principles into Ireland by William Edmundson.

Visit of Miles Halhead, Miles Bateman, and James Lancaster to north Ireland.

English Friends visit Scotland.

Miles Halhead and James Lancaster in Glasgow, Stirling, Edinburgh, Dumfries.

Thomas Holmes and John Ap-John minister in Wales.

John Stubbs refuses oath of allegiance to Cromwell and leaves army.

George Fox travels through midland counties and visits Drayton.

Arrested by Colonel Hacker near close of year and sent to London.

William Dewsbury preaches in Yorkshire and midland.

George Whitehead labors in Norfolk and Suffolk.

Meetings held in London.

Edward Burrough and Francis Howgill preach in London.

John Camm and John Audland hold great outdoor meetings in Bristol.

Oxford visited by Elizabeth Fletcher, Elizabeth Havens, John Camm and John Audland during the year.

1654 Cambridge visited by Miles Halhead, James Lancaster, James Parnel and George Whitehead.

Richard Hubberthorn imprisoned at Norwich.

George Whitehead and James Lancaster imprisoned at Norwich.

James Parnel imprisoned at Cambridge.

Miles Halhead imprisoned at Berwick.

Riots in Bristol near close of year.

William Dewsbury imprisoned at York, and at Northampton with others.

1655 Ireland visited by Edward Burrough, Francis Howgill, Elizabeth Fletcher and Elizabeth Smith.

Meetings settled in Dublin and south of Ireland.

Burrough and Howgill sent to England by the Lord Deputy.

William Edmundson and others preach in north of Ireland.

Barbara Blangdon arrives in Dublin and reproves Deputy.

John Stubbs and William Caton preach in Kent.

Convincement of Samuel Fisher.

George Whitehead continues in Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex.

James Parnel arrested at Coggeshal and imprisoned in Colchester.

George Whitehead and four others imprisoned in Edmundsbury.

1655 - T.C. d. in Portsmouth, R.I.

1655 Humphrey Smith and others imprisoned at Eversham.
Ambrose Rigge imprisoned in Southampton.
Ann Audland imprisoned at Banbury (?)
Ann Downer in house of correction, London.
George Baily imprisoned at Newgate and Bridewell, London.
Francis Howgill has interview with Cromwell.
William Caton and John Stubbs visit Calais, France (in summer).
William Caton and John Stubbs visit Holland.
George Fox's interview with Cromwell, beginning of year.
Release, and travels in east, middle and south of England.
1656 George Fox arrested in Cornwall and imprisoned at Launceston until Seventh month, O. S. (September.)
Return to London after release.
Interview with Cromwell.
Samuel Fisher has interview with Cromwell.
Cromwell releases William Dewsbury and others in Northampton.
Cromwell releases George Whitehead and others in Edmundsbury.
Cromwell releases Humphrey Smith in Eversham.
William Caton and John Stubbs ill-treated and imprisoned at Maidstone.
Barbara Blangdon imprisoned in Ireland.

1656 Cruel sentence passed on George Whitehead in Suffolk.
James Nayler imprisoned at Exeter.
His famous entry into Bristol.
Cruel punishment of James Nayler in London.
Imprisonment of James Nayler in Bridewell.
Death of John Camm.
Death of James Parnel in Colchester prison.
William Caton and John Stubbs again visit Holland.
Mary Fisher visits Barbadoes.
Arrival Anne Austin and Mary Fisher in Boston in summer.
Imprisonment of Anne Austin and Mary Fisher. Sent to Barbadoes.
Arrival and banishment of eight more Friends at Boston.
Passage of persecuting law in Boston, Eighth month, O. S. (October.)
General meeting at Balby.
Expostulation and banishment of Nicholas Upsall from Massachusetts.
Elizabeth Harris introduces Friends' books in Virginia.
1657 Thomas Loe travels in Ulster and Munster.
George Fox journeys over all Wales and part of Scotland.
John Burnyeat imprisoned in Carlisle.
General persecution in England.
George Baily imprisoned in France.

1657 William Ames labors in Holland.
George Robinson goes on mission to Jerusalem.
Josiah Cole and Thomas Thurston arrive in Virginia close of year.
Robert Fowler builds ship, the Woodhouse, for use of Friends.
The Woodhouse brings eleven Friends to New Amsterdam.
Short persecution in New Netherlands.
Arrival Anne Burden and Mary Dyer in Boston.
Friends visit Plymouth, Mass.
Mary Clark and other Friends whipped and imprisoned in Boston.
Persecution in Salem.
Passage of more severe persecuting law in Boston, Eighth month, O. S. (October.)
Tolerant action of Rhode Island.

58 1658 General meeting at John Crooks' in Bedfordshire.
Convincement of Isaac Penington.
John Burnyeat and Wm. Dewsbury visit Scotland.
George Whitehead imprisoned at Ipswich.
George Fox writes several epistles to Cromwell concerning Friends.
September 3, death of Oliver Cromwell.
Cruel persecution in Massachusetts.
Act of death penalty for returned Friends passed in Boston.

1658 Popular sympathy for sufferers in Boston and Salem.
General meeting for discipline at Balby, Yorkshire, and Skipton.
Brutal treatment of Friends by students at Oxford and Cambridge.
Journey of Josiah Cole and Thomas Thurston from Virginia to New England.
Josiah Cole labors among Indians on Martha's Vineyard and in Plymouth.
Meetings settled in Virginia and Maryland.

1659 William Ames travels in Germany.
John Stubbs and Samuel Fisher in Rome.
Samuel Fisher and Edward Burrough visit Dunkirk, France.
William Salt imprisoned at Morlaix in France.
Christopher Birkhead imprisoned at Rochelle.
In March banishment of several Friends from Boston.
Eighth month, O. S. (October), execution of Marmaduke Stephenson and William Robinson at Boston. Banishment and whipping of other Friends.
Richard Cromwell deposed.
General Monk gives order in Friends' favor.

III.

ORGANIZATION.

1660–1689.

The third period in Friends' history begins with the Restoration of Charles II. in 1660 and ends with the passage of the Toleration Act in 1689. It, therefore, very nearly coincides with the reigns of the last two Stuart kings. Viewed externally it is the period of persecution; viewed internally it is the period of organization. The Massachusetts cruelties belong principally to this period, while, with the exception of short intervals following royal indulgence, persecution in the British Isles was severe and continuous during the whole thirty years. Under pressure from this persecution, the Society crystallized. Friends' principles were ably and clearly presented in the writings of Penn, Penington and Barclay. A great common cause bound the members to each other. The necessary machinery for a federation of meetings came into existence; Monthly, Quarterly and Yearly Meetings were established, and the epistles and advices of these meetings laid the foundation of the discipline. Another result of the home persecution was the emigration of Friends to the New World. New Jersey offered the first asylum.? The Friendly emigration began about 1670, and was greatly increased after the grant of Pennsylvania to William Penn in 1681.

Chronology.

1660 Death of James Naylor at King's Rippon.
*Execution of Mary Dyer in Boston.
Mission of Mary Fisher to Sultan of Turkey.
Friends travel to Italy, Egypt and Turkey.
General meeting at Balby, Yorkshire, and Arnside, Lancashire.
Proclamation of Breda.
Restoration Charles II., Third month, O. S. (May.)
Edward Burrough answers Queries concerning political attitude of Friends.
Seven hundred Friends released by King upon intercession of Margaret Fell.
George Fox imprisoned at Lancaster, brought to London, released by King.
Interview between the King and Richard Hubberthorn concerning Friends' principles.
Friends appear before the House of Lords to give reasons for non-conformity.
King's declaration confirming Declaration of Breda, Eighth month, O. S. (October.)
Toleration Bill defeated in the House of Commons.
Death of Thomas Aldam.
George Fox the younger addresses letter to Charles II.
Convincement of Thomas Ellwood.

* Death of Mary Dyer in Boston

1660 General meeting removed to London.

Humphrey Smith's vision of great fire in London.

1661 Rising of Fifth Monarchy men, Eleventh month, 1660, O. S. (January.)

Proclamation forbidding Quakers to meet for worship.

General persecution throughout United Kingdom. Persecution milder in Ireland owing to character of officials.

Hat controversy begun by John Perrot.

Friends' marriage rite pronounced legal.

Katherine Evans and Sarah Cheevers imprisoned at Malta.

William Leddra hanged in Boston, First month, O. S. (March.)

Wenlock Christison condemned to death Fourth month, O. S. (June), but released.

Vagabond Act passed in Massachusetts, Third month, O. S. (May),; death penalty no longer enforced.

King's missive delivered to Samuel Shattuck, Seventh month, O. S. (September), ordering accused Quakers sent to England for trial.

Vagabond Act suspended, Ninth month, O. S. (November.)

Massachusetts sends deputies to London with address to King.

Interview between George Fox and Massachusetts deputies.

1661 Bill against Friends introduced in Parliament, Fifth month, O. S. (July.)

Efforts of Friends to prevent passage of Bill.

1662 John Philly and William Moore imprisoned by Inquisition in Hungary.

Vagabond Act revived in Massachusetts.

Barbarous treatment of Quaker women in Massachusetts.

Persecuting Bill against Friends passes Parliament.

Receives royal assent, Third month, O. S. (May.)

Corporation Act passed. Displaced all magistrates not in sympathy with persecuting bill.

Persecution general, prisons crowded, nearly all noted Friends in prison. George Fox in Leicester jail.

Twenty Friends die in Newgate. Richard Hubberthorn one of those who died.

Convincements in Wales and Scotland, particularly Aberdeen.

1663 Death of Edward Burrough (1662, O.S.), John Audland and Humphrey Smith.

Thomas Lurting's adventure with pirates in Mediterranean.

Cruel treatment of Elizabeth Hooten and Edward Wharton in Massachusetts.

Continued convincement and persecution in Scotland.

George Fox travels in England and Wales.

Francis Howgill committed to Appleby Jail.

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Francis Howgill committed to Appleby Jail.

1663 Sarah Cheevers and Catharine Evans released from prison in Malta.

1664 Continued persecution in Massachusetts.

George Fox imprisoned at Lancaster.

Margaret Fell imprisoned and premunired.

Passage of Conventicle Act against all dissenters, Fifth month, O. S. (July.)

General persecution, prisons crowded, twenty-five Friends die in Newgate.

One hundred and thirty-seven Friends sentenced to transportation, but sentence executed in only few cases.

Cruel persecution in Bristol.

John Burnyeat visits Barbadoes.

1665 Death of John Endicott, Governor of Massachusetts, First month, O. S. (March).

Commissioners interfere in behalf of Quakers.

Persecution subsides in Massachusetts.

John Burnyeat travels in Virginia and Maryland, and endeavors to counteract influence of John Perrot.

George Fox premunired and removed to Scarborough Castle.

Plague in London.

Relaxation of persecution.

Parliament meets at Oxford.

Passage of Five Mile Act.

Convincement of John Roberts.

Death of Samuel Fisher and William Caton.

1666 Convincement of David Barclay of Ury.

1666 Severe persecution in Scotland.

George Fox released from Scarborough, travels in England.

Prophecy of Thomas Ibbet and great fire in London.

Destruction Bull and Mouth meeting-house.

Removal to Devonshire house.

New meeting-house built in Gracechurch street.

Establishment of monthly meetings.

Perrot controversy settled at meeting in London.

Death of Richard Farnsworth.

1667 George Fox recommends establishment of schools.

Robert Barclay appears in ministry.

William Penn unites with Friends.

Arrest and imprisonment of William Penn in Cork.

1668 William Penn appears in ministry.

William Penn publishes "Truth Exalted" and "Sandy Foundation Shaken."

Imprisonment of Penn in Tower. Publishes "Innocency with her Open Face," and "No Cross, No Crown."

Release of Penn through influence Duke of York.

Margaret Fell released from prison by King's order.

First general meeting in London.

Death of Josiah Cole and Thomas Loe.

1669 Death of Francis Howgill in Appleby jail, (1668, O. S.)

1669 George Fox travels in Ireland.
Marriage of George Fox and Margaret Fell at Bristol.
Marriage of Robert Barclay and Christiana Mollison at Aberdeen.
Margaret Fox again imprisoned at Lancaster, released by King 1670.

1670 Robert Barclay publishes his first book, "Truth Cleared from Calumnies."
Conventicle Act renewed and persecution reanimated.
Meeting-houses at Horsleydown and Ratcliff destroyed.
Gilbert Latey saves Wheeler Street meeting-house.
Celebrated trial of William Penn and William Mead at the Old Bailey.
Released from Newgate by Admiral Penn paying fines.
Death of Admiral Penn.
William Penn again imprisoned.
First Friends' meeting in New Jersey settled at Shrewsbury.
John Burnyeat and William Simpson visit Barbadoes.
William Simpson dies in Barbadoes.

1671 Extensive travels of John Burnyeat in American colonies.
George Fox with others visits Barbadoes.
Friends visit Antigua, Jamaica and Nevis.

22390

1671 William Penn travels on continent. Visits the Princess Elizabeth.

1672 George Fox and others arrive in Maryland.
All the colonies visited and meetings for discipline established.
Controversy with Roger Williams.
Robert Barclay walks in sackcloth in Aberdeen.
Death of Elizabeth Hooten in Jamaica.
Marriage of William Penn and Gulielma Springett.
General Yearly Meeting in London. Representation proposed.
Charles II. issues Declaration of Indulgence.
Persecution arrested, large numbers of Friends liberated.
John Bunyan released through influence of Friends.
Convincement of Friends in Carolina.
Persecution revived in Massachusetts.

1673 Controversy between Friends and Thomas Hicks, Baptist.
Penn publishes "Reason against Railing;" and "Counterfeit Christian Detected."
July or August George Fox returns to England and is imprisoned at Worcester.
First representative Yearly Meeting in London.
Representation decided to be discontinued for a season.

1674 Revocation of Declaration of Indulgence. Revival of persecution.

1675 Acquittal of George Fox by Sir Matthew Hale.
William Penn publishes treatise concerning oaths, "England's Present Interest," "Saul Smitten to the Ground."
Death of William Bayly.
George Fox resides at Swarthmore Hall.
William Edmundson visits Barbadoes.
William Edmundson writes epistle to America concerning slavery.
Public discussion at Aberdeen between divinity students on one side and Robert Barclay and George Keith on the other.
King Philip's War in New England causes trouble to Friends.
William Edmundson visits Rhode Island, travels through eastern New England to Piscataway.
Friends under John Fenwick settle Salem, West New Jersey.
Disaffection of Wilkinson and Story in regard to establishment of discipline.
Standing committee (Meeting for Sufferings) established.

1676 William Edmundson travels in New England and southwest.
Friends subjected to trial in colonies during Indian wars.
Indian war and Bacon's rebellion in Virginia.
William Penn concerned with New Jersey with other Friends.
Separation into East and West Jersey.

22390

1676 Severe persecution in Aberdeen. Robert Barclay imprisoned for a while.
Robert Barclay visits Holland and Germany.
First edition of Barclay's Apology published in Latin.
Unsuccessful attempts at reconciliation with Wilkinson and Story. Partial reconciliation at Draw-well.
Death of William Brend.

1677 Last Quaker whipped in Massachusetts. Margaret Brewster.
Friends settle Burlington, New Jersey.
Continued settlement and development of West Jersey.
Separation of Wilkinson and Story. Restoration of many of their adherents. Representative Yearly Meeting restored.
George Fox travels on the continent with Penn and Barclay.

1678 Pretended Popish plot revives persecution.
William Dewsbury imprisoned at Warwick.
Friends nearly secure legal exemption from taking oath of allegiance.
First Yearly Meeting epistle.
Emigration to New Jersey continued.
First edition of Barclay's Apology published in English.

1679 Death of Isaac Penington.

1681 Continuous persecution in England. Meeting-

1681–84 houses closed in London. Meetings held in streets. Constancy of Friends in Bristol.

King less willing than formerly to relieve Friends.

1681 First general Yearly Meeting in New Jersey, at Burlington.

East Jersey comes into hands of Friends.

William Penn receives grant of Pennsylvania from Charles II.

Movement of colonists to Pennsylvania.

1682 Robert Barclay appointed Governor of East Jersey.

William Penn visits Pennsylvania.

Philadelphia founded.

General Assembly of province meets at Chester.

Settlement of Pennsylvania proceeds rapidly.

Welsh colonists settle Haverford, Merion and Radnor.

1683 Great Treaty with the Indians at Shackamaxon.

Only trial in the colony for witchcraft, acquittal.

1683–85 Germans settle Germantown.

1683 First school opened in Philadelphia by Enoch Flower.

1684 William Penn returns to England.

George Fox again visits Holland. John Burnyeat visits Scotland.

1685 Decided that Friends in Pennsylvania and New Jersey constitute one yearly meeting.

Death of Charles II.

Accession of James II.

1685 Friends address the King in behalf of suffering members.

Insurrection of Monmouth.

1686 About thirteen hundred Friends liberated by James.

George Fox gives the meeting-house at Swarthmore to the Society.

Death of Anne Whitehead, Robert Widders and David Barclay.

1687 James issues Declaration of General Indulgence.

Expulsion of Fellows of Magdalen.

1688 Clergy refuse to read Declaration of Indulgence.

William of Orange lands at Torbay.

Flight of James to France.

Beginning of Reign of Terror in Ireland. Friends exposed to great danger.

Death of Rebecca Travers and William Dewsbury.

German Friends at Germantown (Philadelphia), testify against negro slavery.

1689 Accession of William and Mary.

Passage Toleration Act. Friends relieved from swearing to oath of allegiance.

Death of Alexander Parker.

IV.

CONTINUATION.

1690–1790.

The position of Friends in England was changed by the passage of the Toleration Act. The Society became a tolerated sect, its members subject to no persecution save distraint and imprisonment for non-payment of tithes. There followed about a century of what has been variously styled Quietism, Formalism, Declination, Deterioration. Here, the more general term Continuation is used. The first generation of Friends passed away during the early part of the period; with it departed the proselytizing zeal; orderly living and the naintenance of discipline became the aim of the Society. t was a time of great commercial prosperity, and riends were among the most prosperous Englishmen. hey increased in wealth and decreased in numbers nd spirituality. After the middle of the century, fforts were made to return to the old standing, but the pirit of the Society's youth was no more. Yet apathy oes not express the condition of affairs during this eriod. Schools were founded; money, time and influnce were given to sociological problems; prison reform ceived much attention in England, the abolition of gro slavery and the care of the Indians in America. he development of Pennsylvania proceeded rapidly ring the first part of the period. After 1756 Friends ased to be the controlling political power in the lony, but remained a moral power.

Chronology.

1690	Death of Robert Barclay, Thomas Salthouse and John Burnyeat.
1691	Death of George Fox. Eleventh month, 1690, O. S.
	Convincement of Thomas Story.
	Beginning of controversy with George Keith in America.
1692	William Penn deprived of governorship of Pennsylvania.
	Pennsylvania annexed to New York under Colonel Fletcher.
	Friends in America contribute for redemption of Barbary captives.
	Philadelphia Monthly Meeting disowns Keith. Other meetings follow Philadelphia's example.
	Keith's followers, called Christian Quakers, set up separate meetings.
	Death of Stephen Crisp.
1693	Colonel Fletcher arrives in Philadelphia with military retinue.
	Military defence demanded for Pennsylvania and New York.
	Assembly refuses to levy a war tax. Maintains its charter rights.
1694	William Penn reinstated in governorship of Pennsylvania.
	George Keith brings his case before London Yearly Meeting.

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1694

94 Philadelphia Yearly Meeting issues advice discouraging importation of negroes and exhorting to conscientious treatment of slaves.

Death of Patrick Livingstone and Gulielma Springett Penn.

1695 London epistle warning Quaker shipmasters against arming their vessels.

Parliament passes bill intended to relieve non-tithe payers from ruinous exactions in ecclesiastical courts by allowing distraints to be made in civil courts.

London Yearly Meeting disowns Keith.

Keith makes unsuccessful attempts to form separate party in England.

Death of Andrew Sowle.

One hundred and thirty-four Friends imprisoned during year for non-payment of tithes.

1696

6 Affirmation Act passed for seven years, relieving Friends from taking oaths.

William Penn marries Hannah Callowhill.

Convincement of Richard Claridge.

7 John Fothergill appears in ministry.

1697

William Penn charters school in Philadelphia.

"Snake in the Grass" controversy with Charles Leslie.

8 Friends in England present remonstrance concerning bill for censorship of press.

1698

The Welsh settle Gwynedd, Pennsylvania.

Death of Charles Marshall.

1699 Yellow fever in Philadelphia.

William Penn again arrives in Pennsylvania.

Death of John Crook.

1700 George Keith ordained priest in Established Church of England.

Society reported prosperous though suffering for non-payment of tithes.

Friends contribute for redemption of Barbary captives.

1701 William Penn recalled to England.

Thomas Chalkley makes Philadelphia his residence.

New charter granted Pennsylvania (before Penn's departure).

1702 Accession of Queen Anne.

Friends address Queen, who assures them of protection.

New Jersey becomes royal province, East and West Jersey merged.

Oppression of Lord Cornbury, royal governor.

Last Friend redeemed from Barbary.

George Keith's missionary journey to America.

Keith challenges Samuel Bownas to disputation.

Meeting at Hempstead, Long Island, and malicious action of Keith.

Samuel Bownas imprisoned by Cornbury, through Keith's misrepresentations.

Death of Margaret Fox.

1703 Release of Samuel Bownas.

1703

03 John Evans, deputy governor of Pennsylvania, attempts to carry out warlike policy.

04 John Estaugh and Richard Gove carried to Martinique by French privateers.

Death of Ambrose Rigge.

05 Pennsylvania law concerning affirmation declared unconstitutional by governor.

Death of Tacy Davies (wife of Richard Davies), John Blakling, Gilbert Latey, Ann Camm.

Thomas Chalkley visits Indians.

06 Beginning of Ranter disturbance of meetings in Cumberland.

07 Death of Thomas Camm.

08 Prosecution Richard Claridge for teaching without license from bishop.

Death of Richard Davies.

09 Governor Gookin succeeds Evans in Pennsylvania.

Trouble in Pennsylvania concerning affirmations and money for war.

1710 Meeting for Sufferings addresses Queen Anne on subject of religious toleration.

Death of John Banks and William Crouch.

1711 Friends still suffer severely for non-payment of tithes.

Pennsylvania passes act prohibiting importation of negroes. Annulled by British government.

Chester Quarterly Meeting brings subject of slavery before Philadelphia Yearly Meeting.

1712 Philadelphia Yearly Meeting asks counsel of London Yearly Meeting concerning slavery.

William Penn, negotiating with crown for sale of Pennsylvania, is seized with apoplexy. Sale not confirmed.

Sufferings of Friends in Holstein, Germany, during war.

Peter the Great visits Quaker meeting in Frederickstadt, Holstein.

Death of William Edmundson.

1713 Peace of Utrecht.

Death of Thomas Ellwood and William Mead.

Thomas Wilson and James Dickinson visit American meetings. Report prosperous condition of Society, 1713–15.

New Jersey passes Affirmation Act.

1714 Act against Schism introduced in Parliament. Object to prevent dissenters from keeping schools.

Death of Queen Anne.

Accession of George I. Act against Schism a failure.

1715 Affirmation Act made perpetual.

Philadelphia Yearly Meeting makes the importation of negroes an offence subject to discipline.

Slavery agitated in New England Meeting.

1716 Philadelphia meeting cautions Friends against buying and selling negroes.

1717 Sir William Keith deputy governor of Pennsylvania.

1717 Benjamin Lay disowned in England.

1718 Benjamin Lay settles in Barbadoes, begins his opposition to slavery.

Death of William Penn.

1719 Philadelphia meeting advises Friends not to buy or sell Indians.

1721 Form of Affirmation in England changed to present form.

Richard Claridge warns Friends against South Sea schemes.

1722 Friends in Ireland obtain Affirmation Act.

Massachusetts Friends released from paying taxes for support of church ministers.

1723 Death of George Whitehead.

1725 Law concerning affirmation settled in Pennsylvania.

1727 Samuel Bownas again visits America.

First minute of London Yearly Meeting concerning slave trade. "The practice not a commendable nor allowable one."

Accession of George II.

1729 Ralph Sandiford publishes "A Brief Examination of the Practice of the Times," against negro slavery.

1730 Society reported in prosperous condition.

Chester Friends bring slavery before Philadelphia Yearly Meeting for the fourth time. Meeting cautions Friends against buying negroes. (Advice repeated nearly every year until 1743).

1731 Anthony Benezet comes to Philadelphia.

Benjamin Lay removes to Philadelphia (perhaps 1732).

1732 Thomas Penn arrives in Philadelphia. Remains nine years.

1734 John Penn arrives in Philadelphia. Remains one year.

1736 Friends petition Parliament for relief from minor persecutions and long imprisonments for non-payment of tithes.

Bill for relief of petitioners passes the House of Commons, but is defeated in the House of Lords through opposition of the clergy.

John Fothergill and James Gough become prominent ministers.

1720–40 Friends settle in vicinity of Potomac in Maryland and northern Virginia.

1741 Thomas Chalkley visits Tortola. Great convincement in that island.

Death of Thomas Chalkley in Tortola.

James Logan writes letters defending use of arms in defence.

1742 Anthony Benezet teaching in Friends' public school in Philadelphia.

Death of Thomas Story and John Estaugh.

John Woolman appears in ministry.

1743 "Do Friends observe former advices of our Yearly Meeting not to encourage the importation of negroes, not to buy them after imported?" Philadelphia required this query

1743 to be answered annually by subordinate meetings.

John Woolman writes bill of sale for negro woman, and thereafter refuses such business transactions.

1744 Death of John Fothergill.

Prosperity in Pennsylvania.

1745 Irish affirmation act made perpetual.

Rising in Scotland around Charles Edward.

1746 Friends address King George II. expressing loyalty to government.

John Woolman travels in Maryland and Virginia.

John Woolman begins writing against slavery.

1747 Benjamin Franklin excites to military measures in Pennsylvania.

1750 Anthony Benezet establishes evening schools for negroes.

Anthony Benezet begins writing on subject of slavery.

1751 Death of James Logan.

[Gregorian calendar adopted, (in English-speaking countries), taking effect in 1752, which year begins with January 1st, instead of March 25th. September 3d made September 14th. Henceforth, the months, numbered in Friends' style, begin with January as First month.]

1753 Death of Samuel Bownas.

Proposition in England for establishment of women's yearly meeting for discipline.

1753 Mary Peisley and Catherine Peyton visit meetings from Carolina to New England, 1753–4.

1754 –55 Samuel Fothergill visits meetings from Georgia to New England.

1754 First printed writings of John Woolman: "Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes."

1755 Philadelphia Yearly Meeting minute, "importing, selling or purchasing slaves" prohibited. Liberation of slaves advised.

Indian outbreak and depredations along Pennsylvania frontier.

Money and militia raised for defence, but war not declared.

1756 Declaration of war against Indians in Pennsylvania, against remonstrances of Friends.

Several Friends resign seats in Assembly.

Correspondence between Governor Morris and Privy Council.

Attempt in Parliament to make members of Pennsylvania Assembly take oath of allegiance.

English Friends prevent passage of bill.

Most Friends leave the Assembly.

Pennsylvania ceases to be governed by Friends' peaceful principles.

Philadelphia Yearly Meeting establishes standing committee,—Meeting for Sufferings.

Association of Friends formed "for gaining and preserving peace with the Indians by pacific measures."

1757 Treaty at Easton with Indians.

1757 Virginia Yearly Meeting adopts query intended to prohibit trade in slaves.

1758 Second treaty of Easton.

London Yearly Meeting issues advices not to engage in slave trade.

Daniel Hollis dies in Winchester jail while imprisoned for non-payment of tithes, aged ninety-seven. Death caused by injuries received at time of arrest shortly before.

1760 Accession of George III. Friends address King.

London Yearly Meeting seriously considers supposed declension of Society. Committee of concerned Friends appointed to visit Quarterly and Monthly Meetings in endeavor to restore ancient zeal.

1761 London Meeting makes slave trade a disownable offence.

Sub-committee of the general committee visits Quarterly and Monthly Meetings.

1762 All meetings in England reported visited.

London Yearly Meeting encourages Friends' schools and printing of religious books.

Ravages by Indians in western Pennsylvania.

1763 John Woolman visits Indians.

Francis Hart (Eng.) tried for libel on account of the disownment of Mary Jerom. Jury brought in verdict guilty. New trial and acquittal.

Peace declared between England and France.

1765 Treaty with Indians ends Indian wars.

1765 Renewal in London Yearly Meeting of proposition for women's yearly meeting for discipline.

Parliament passes Stamp Act.

1766 Committee of men decide it not desirable to comply with proposal concerning women's meeting.

Stamp Act repealed.

1770 English Friends visit north Holland and Germany. Society much reduced on continent.

1771 New York Yearly Meeting forbids selling of slaves.

1772 John Woolman goes to England. Visits London Yearly Meeting, travels in midland and northern counties.

Death of John Woolman at York from small-pox.

Death of Samuel Fothergill.

1773 Virginia meeting makes traffic in slaves disownable.

1774 Continental Congress meets in Philadelphia.

Philadelphia Yearly Meeting cautions to keep from excitement and violence of the times.

Beginning of Pennsylvania Society for Abolition of Slavery.

1775 Warner Mifflin emancipates his slaves.

London Yearly Meeting advises to keep clear of spirit of parties and to cherish principle of peace and good-will to all.

Philadelphia advices for faithfulness to peace principles.

1775 Friends in New England suffer from effects of war.

Friends in Pennsylvania contribute to their relief.

Inhabitants of Pennsylvania petition Assembly, drawing attention to charter rights of Friends not to be obliged "to do or suffer any act or thing contrary to their religious persuasion," and pleading with the Assembly for conciliatory measures.

Elias Hicks becomes prominent in ministry.

1776–89 Friends' settlements increase in western Virginia and Maryland.

1776 Philadelphia Yearly Meeting makes slave-holding a disownable offence.

Old Colonial Assembly of Pennsylvania comes to an end.

Friends testify against warfare, continental money, taxes to support war, contributing supplies for war.

Much suffering endured for these testimonies.

Representatives from New England, Virginia and North Carolina attend Philadelphia Yearly Meeting for consultation.

1777 English Friends petition King and Commons for peaceable adjustment of difficulties with colonies.

New York Yearly Meeting requires manumission of slaves.

Friends fined and imprisoned for refusing support to war.

1777 Drafted Friends refuse to bear arms.

Spurious papers arouse Congress against Friends.

Seventeen Friends arrested in Philadelphia as disaffected, and sent to Winchester, Va.

Committee from Philadelphia Yearly Meeting carry copies of testimony against war to British General Howe and to General Washington.

British take possession of Philadelphia in Ninth month.

About this time formation of "Free Quakers" in vicinity of Philadelphia, not opposed to bearing arms.

1778 Maryland Yearly Meeting makes slave-holding disownable.

Virginia exiles allowed to return to Philadelphia at their own expense. Three had died.

Friends address Assembly of Pennsylvania on account of sufferings.

British leave Philadelphia.

Testimony of Friends against oath of allegiance.

1779 Ackworth school opened.

William Savery appears in ministry.

Friends address Pennsylvania Assembly concerning test acts.

Continued sufferings of Friends during war.

1780 Captivity of the Gilbert family among Indians.

Continued sufferings of Friends during war.

Death of Dr. John Fothergill.

Legislature of Pennsylvania passes act for gradual abolition of slavery.

1780 London Yearly Meeting adopts more severe rules against those marrying out of the Society.

London Yearly Meeting petitions the House of Commons for abolition of slave trade.

Beginning of Abolition Society in London.

1781 Surrender of Cornwallis. Friends ill-treated because of not celebrating the event.

Disowned members try to obtain share in property of Society.

Design frustrated by legal advice of Nicholas Waln.

1782 New England Meeting reports all members free from slave-holding.

1784 Large number American Friends visited meetings in Great Britain and Ireland.

Women's Yearly Meeting in London receives reports from Quarterly meetings and issues advices.

1787 Beginning of manumission in Carolina.

1789 Friends address George Washington, expressing loyalty to government.

1790 Women's Yearly Meeting (London) receives representative constitution.

Westtown boarding school proposed. (Opened 1799).

1792 Friends begin to settle in Canada.

Friends journey to Sandusky to visit Indians.

1793 Trustees first appointed to hold general stock of Society instead of cashiers nominated at each Yearly Meeting. (England.)

1794 Friends journey to Canandaigua, N. Y., to effect treaty.

1795 Baltimore and New York Yearly Meetings begin systematic work among Indians.

1796 English Friends petition the House of Commons on subject of sufferings for tithes and the ecclesiastical claims.

Stephen Grellet appears in ministry.

1796–99 Three Friends live among Oneidas to teach Indians civilized living.

1797 The Nicholites in Maryland unite with Friends.

Beginning of doctrinal controversy in Ireland.

1798 Joseph Lancaster begins teaching poor children in a shed.

Three Friends go to live among Senecas at request of Indians.

Friends preserved from injury during rebellion in Ireland.

Committee appointed to visit Irish meetings report Society very weak.

Hannah Barnard begins travels in England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland.

1799 Several withdraw from the Society in Ireland or are disowned.

V.

DISSENSION.

1800–1828.

About the beginning of the present century doctrinal controversy appeared among Friends with disastrous results. As early as 1797 Friends in Ireland became involved in controversy concerning "the inspiration of the scriptures," and in a few years were weakened and dismembered. English Friends were engaged in doctrinal discussion during the first quarter of the century. Trinitarian views were held by many of the leaders, and the body of Friends in England has always been considered "orthodox." American Friends became divided in sentiment on several points, two parties appeared in the Society, and after some years of confusion, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting re-organized. Two main branches of Friends have since existed. The Yearly Meetings of New York, Ohio, Indiana and Baltimore divided in 1828.

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Chronology.

1800 London Meeting for Sufferings defends Society against accusations of monopolizing corn and flour during time of scarcity.

Defection continues in Ireland.

Hannah Barnard's ministry objected to in London Yearly Meeting.

Hannah Barnard advised to refrain from preaching and to return home.

1802 Hannah Barnard returns home after unsuccessful appeals to other meetings.

Baltimore Meeting presents memorial to Congress concerning spirituous liquors among Indians.

Rigid enforcement of discipline decided on in Ireland.

Irish Friends divided in opinion and decreased in numbers.

1801–12 Doctrinal controversy among English Friends, notably, Thomas Foster ("Verax"), Unitarian views, Joseph Gurney Bevan ("Vindex"), Trinitarian views.

1802 Disownment of Hannah Barnard by her own Quarterly Meeting in New York.

Friends in America contribute to relief of Friends and others in distress from famine in Great Britain and Ireland.

1804 Philip Dennis goes to teach agriculture among Wabash Indians.

1805 Joseph Lancaster's school made a free school.

London Yearly Meeting reports remissness in instructing youth in Christian principles.

English Friends legally confirmed in right to hold meetings for discipline with closed doors.

1806 London Yearly Meeting subscribes for benefit American Indians.

1807 Small tract for instruction of children circulated among English Friends.

England abolishes Slave Trade.

1809 London Meeting for Sufferings reports draft of catechism, but subject was dismissed.

1811–14 Journey of William Allen and Stephen Grellet on continent.

1812 Disownment of Thomas Foster ("Verax") by Ratcliffe Monthly Meeting.

1813 Elizabeth Fry first visits Newgate.

Ohio Yearly Meeting established.

1814 London Yearly Meeting confirms disownment of Thomas Foster.

1816 English Friends visit Friends in Germany and France (Pyrmont, Westphalia and Minden, Prussia; Congénies, France).

1817 Joseph John Gurney appears in ministry.

Association formed for Improvement of Female Prisoners in Newgate.

1818 English Friends petition King of Sweden and Norway for toleration of Friends in those countries.

1818–20 Third continental journey of Stephen Grellet.

1819 English Friends petition the House of Commons concerning penal code, asking that death penalty be restricted as far as possible.

1819–28 Many English Friends (Trinitarian) visit America.

First open disrespect to Elias Hicks in Philadelphia.

1822 Friends open Indian school at Waupaghkonnetta, Ohio.

Some members of Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings hold an unofficial meeting to obstruct labors of Elias Hicks. Two or three elders appointed to wait on Elias when he should arrive in Philadelphia on way to Baltimore Yearly Meeting.

Elias Hicks attends Baltimore Yearly and Southern Quarterly Meetings, and comes thence to Philadelphia.

Elders wait on Elias Hicks on his arrival in Philadelphia and charge him with preaching false doctrines.

Ten Philadelphia elders demand another interview with Elias Hicks. He denies their authority, but agrees to meet them at Green Street meeting-house. Unsatisfactory result.

Green Street Monthly Meeting indorses Elias Hicks's certificate.

Doctrinal controversy at Wilmington, Del., over signatures "Paul" and "Amicus" introduced in Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings.

1822 "Amicus" (defender of Friends' principles, attacked by "Paul") publishes declaration assuming *personal* responsibility for views expressed.

1823–26 Contending factions strive in Philadelphia meetings; disturbances in meetings for worship, enmity and contention in disciplinary meetings.

1823 Friends present petition to the House of Commons for gradual termination of negro slavery in British dominions.

"Extracts from Writings of Primitive Friends concerning the Divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ," brought forward in Meeting for Sufferings, Philadelphia. Passed in spite of objections, printed but not distributed.

"Extracts" embodied in minutes to Yearly Meeting.

This document, popularly called "The Creed," suppressed by Yearly Meeting.

1824 Supreme Court of France allows affirmation of Friends in civil cases.

1824–25 Increasing dissension in the Society and growing assumption of authority by Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings.

1826 Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings refuses to receive representatives from Southern Quarterly Meeting, and denies right of Quarterly Meetings to change their representatives.

1826 Commotion at Pine Street meeting when Elias Hicks preaches.

Pine and Twelfth Street Monthly Meetings send deputation to Jericho, Long Island, concerning Elias Hicks.

Jericho Monthly Meeting takes no action in the matter.

Two English women Friends charge Darby meeting with infidelity.

Dissension fanned by visiting English Friends.

Philadelphia Quarterly Meeting appoints committee to visit Monthly Meetings.

1827 The disorder and contention in Philadelphia lead John Comly to think of peaceable withdrawal of the non-"orthodox" members from Philadelphia meetings and uniting with country Quarterlies.

"Orthodox" members in Select Yearly Meeting (Philadelphia) appoint committee of "orthodox" members to visit subordinate meetings to judge of their soundness.

Fourth month 16th, general Yearly Meeting meets in Philadelphia.

Disagreement in men's meeting concerning Quarterly representatives and choice of clerk. The representatives being unable to agree on appointments for clerk and assistant clerk, Samuel Bettle and John Comly, appointed previous year, continue.

Yearly Meeting raises three thousand dollars to

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RULES OF DISCIPLINE OF YRLY MEET OF MEN + WOMEN FRIENDS HELD IN PHILA. 1806

ARBITRATIONS over Differences – Let party aggrieved, calmly & kindly request the other to comply with the demand. If disputed, have Fr. act as arbitrators. In love, decency & moderation a becoming testimony. No courts.

BURIALS – no pub. invitations, or hireling minister. A solemn pause before & after corpse placed in ground. No marker higher than 6" No extravagant expenses or mourning clothes. Keep records.

BOOKS – advise against read pernicious books – lest minds be poisoned – plays, novels

CERTIFICATES – advise against injudicious change in residence = "removal" to, after, careful application & inquiry of MM (1818), & obt. certf. (pointings of Divine Wisdom). New MM to give to poor pecuniary relief [as Cordon Hick] to be reimbursed by former MM soc. Provided care + oversight

CIVIL GOVT – accept no office – to maintain "liberty of conscience" – not to engage in any active against our scruples.

CONDUCT/CONVERSATION – No lying, swearing, scandalous conduct, blasphemy against God, Jesus, or Holy Spirit Strict justice, waiting in stillness in the Lord.

CONVINCED PERSONS – admission to membership. Caution against haste. W/O respect to nation or color, disowned recd as others by request [1828],

GAMING/DIVERSION – no stage plays, horse-races, music, dancing

MARRIAGES [1842] – Consent of parents. No mixed marriages [non-Q]. No priest or hireling minister. To be accomplished decently, gravely & weightily. No wid/wid'r to marry until 1 yr after death of spouse. No first cousins to marry.

MEETINGS for WORSHIP – no tardiness, or sleeping, or leaving early. Diligent waiting in true silence. Wilful neglect = evil practice

MODERATION/TEMPERANCE – sipping & tippling of drams & strong drink to be speedily dealt w/as disorderly persons; & not to distil or sell spirits

NEGROES/SLAVES against sl. & slave trade. Don't hire slaves. Be kind to.

OATHS – don't take

PLAINNESS – keep out of the world's corruption language, manners, fashions in apparel – bldg – furniture. Simplicity recommended. Plain speech.

WAR – do not furnish wagons to mil. service, or drum tax, war business (grinding grist, etc) for army, or receive any surplus of confiscated goods.

1827 assist freedmen in North Carolina. (Last act unitedly performed by Friends.)

Committee appointed by "weight" to visit subordinate meetings.

During General Yearly Meeting week, conference of Friends (non-"orthodox") propose a "quiet retreat from this scene of confusion," and issue address to that effect.

Conference adjourns until Sixth month.

Green Street Monthly Meeting asks to be received by Abington Quarterly, and is received.

Fifth month. — Committee appointed (Arch Street) in 1826 proposes to lay down Green Street Monthly Meeting and transfer members to Northern district.

Radnor withdraws from Philadelphia Quarterly (Arch Street) and is received by Abington.

Mt. Holly leaves Burlington for Bucks, other Friends in Philadelphia join Byberry and Darby. Darby and Byberry institute meetings for worship in Philadelphia.

Abington establishes meeting for discipline in Philadelphia, called Monthly Meeting for Friends of Philadelphia.

Sixth month.—General meeting of Friends (non-"orthodox") adopt epistle. Yearly Meeting appointed for Tenth month.

Tenth month.—Yearly Meeting of Friends assembles at Green Street. Representatives from Abington, Bucks, Concord, Western and

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1827 Southern Quarterly Meetings; Mount Holly, Chesterfield and Radnor, Monthly.

Address to Friends within the meeting adopted, also epistle to Baltimore Yearly Meeting.

Yearly Meeting appointed for Fourth month, 1828.

Eleventh month.—Separation at Salem, Burlington and Caln.

Twelfth month.—Separation at Haddonfield.

1828 Test and Corporation Acts repealed in England. Friends' affirmation made valid in criminal cases.

London Yearly Meeting refuses correspondence with Green Street Yearly Meeting.

Second month.—Separation at Shrewsbury and Rahway.

Fourth month.—The reorganized Yearly Meeting of Friends assembles in Philadelphia.

Philadelphia Quarterly Meeting of Friends established. Representative Committee appointed to act during recess of Yearly Meeting.

Fourth month.—(Arch Street) Yearly Meeting proceeds to lay down meetings and disown members.

Fifth month.—Separation in New York Yearly Meeting.

In Summer, Separation in Indiana Yearly Meeting.

In Autumn, Separation in Ohio and Baltimore Yearly Meetings.

"gallery" was for use of ministers and elders particularly. The benches for use of the congregation all faced the "gallery." Usually there was a partition from front to back, separating the rectangle into two equal rooms, the one for men, the other for women. They met separately in their business sessions. During the worship services, however, the moveable partition was lifted.

New Yearly Meetings Established

As these new Monthly Meetings became numerous, they were grouped into Quarterly Meetings. All were subordinate to Baltimore Yearly Meeting until 1813 when, by authorization of Baltimore, Ohio Yearly Meeting of Friends was established. Then, as the number of meetings in western Ohio and Indiana was rapidly increasing, it soon became evident that the best interests of the Church would be served by the establishing of a yearly meeting yet farther west. Consequently, Indiana Yearly Meeting was established by Ohio in 1821. It may here be noted that the westward migration of Friends did not stop in Ohio and Indiana and Michigan; indeed, from these and other states back East, Friends continued to push ever farther westward, and of course, to establish Friends meetings in places where they settled in numbers. Yet other new yearly meetings were, in time, to be established. Without detail we list the names and dates of their establishment: Western, 1858; Iowa, 1863; Wilmington, 1892; Kansas, 1872; Oregon, 1893; California, 1895; Nebraska, 1908; Central, 1926; Rocky Mountain, 1957. One should add here that Canada Yearly Meeting was established in 1867.

QUAKERS

Spiritual Decline Is Evident

Having gained this suggestive view of the wide geographical disposition of American Friends as the nineteenth century advanced, we turn from geography and give attention to the state of Society, the doctrines held and taught and the sort of life lived by Friends during the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Intimation has already been given on earlier pages that Friends in America, as well as in England, once they had been freed from oppression and were enjoying material prosperity, showed some tendency to become lax in religious life and to conform more and more to worldly standards in dress, speech and other habits of life. This spiritual declension brought deep concern to many godly members in the local meetings, as well as to numerous travelling ministers. Some of the latter group had

urged a more strict enforcement of the rules of Discipline, with a resultant long list of disownments during the eighteenth century. Any one who reads the history readily observes that the spiritual fires of Quakerism at the opening of the nineteenth century were burning low. The Society of Friends had lost her missionary vision, and had largely ceased to be an aggressive spiritual force.

As one, with open mind, seeks the causes of this coldness and lack of spiritual life, he comes to feel that an over-emphasis on the Light Within (almost an exclusive emphasis on this) resulted in the neglect by many to read, study, and teach the Holy Scriptures; thus, many Friends were unready to recognize and avoid the errors of rationalism and unbelief. A Bible was not even owned by every member of the church. Some leaders discouraged the reading of the Bible, except as one felt specially moved of the Spirit; and by some there was even censure for Friends who set aside a fixed time for such reading. It is only fair to conclude that many Friends of the early nineteenth century had all but lost both a vital religious life and a knowledge of the truth. The ministry in meetings for worship consisted largely of extemporaneous exhortations, without previous preparation. Then, too, much of the worship hour was spent in silence. How were the members to grow in grace and knowledge of God's revealed will? A quotation from Dr. Thomas of Haverford College is pertinent to the conditions which obtained at the time:

> During the earlier years of the nineteenth century the attention of Friends had been more engrossed with the enforcement of Discipline, the carrying out of certain moral reforms, and with philanthropy, than with questions of doctrine or with evangelization. The elders and overseers exercised more and more authority, till they, with a few of the more weighty members, virtually controlled the Society.[7]

Much has been written about the Separation within the Society of Friends which occurred in 1827-8. We shall limit its consideration to a few pages. One reads with saddened heart the deplorable details of this crisis in the history of Friends. We present only a minimum of detail, noting but few of the causes which led to the disruption, which has been properly called the "Great Divide."

Causes of the Great Divide

The leader of the group which separated from the Society was Elias Hicks, a farmer and eloquent minister of Jericho, Long Island. He had a meagre education, but a logical mind. His early ministry is reported to have been generally acceptable; but, as the years passed, he became more and more inclined to preach about "things" — ribbons, amusements, etc. — rather than presenting Christian truth. His theology may have been Scriptural in his earlier years, but it was certainly far different from that of evangelical Christians in his later years. His Christology was devastating. So intensively did he fix his eye upon what he regarded as the Light Within that he came to consider this single endowment as sufficient for man's salvation. He held that Christ's coming in the flesh, His life, His death, the Scriptures, and all outward teachings were not essential to salvation. He taught that Jesus of Nazareth was superior to the rest of mankind only because He had a greater work to do; and in order that He might perform it, more talents had been given to Him. He regarded our Lord's death as that of a martyr, and only as a pattern for us. Thus, his teachings included no atonement for sin, no living Advocate at the right hand of the Father. We quote briefly from Hicks himself:

> The mode of redemption generally held by professing Christians as being effected by the death, or outward dying of Christ Jesus upon the outward wooden cross. . . I consider a vulgar error, that came in with the apostasy from primitive Christianity. . . . I consider that the offering of the body of Jesus Christ, on the outward cross, applied only as a matter of redemption, to the Israelites. . . .[8]

Here was a man of dynamic personality, claiming to be in the succession of early Quakers, but following rationalistic channels of thought, and in his later years teaching humanism rather than the Christian religion. Multitudes hung on his eloquent, persuasive words, and many of them were too ignorant of the evangelical faith to perceive the errors into which he was leading them. One can understand why many leaders of the Society were alarmed at the unsoundness and deadening influence of his teachings, and felt it right to restrain him. Several of the travelling ministers from England sought to counteract his teachings. Among the American Friends ministers who were deeply distressed by his utterances was Stephen Grellet. He writes of the "deep and painful trials" which he was experiencing because of the expressed sentiments of Elias Hicks which were "repugnant to the Christian faith," and tending toward lessening belief in the authority of the Holy Scriptures, and undervaluing "the sacred offices of our holy and blessed Redeemer." Grellet further wrote:

> Though his assertions were so covered that few understood him fully, I frequently, fervently, and earnestly labored with him. He promised that he would be more guarded.[9]

But such promise was forgotten by Hicks, and some three years later Grellet felt constrained to rise and address a public meeting in New York City, at the close of an address which Hicks had given, and to say that:

> As a religious society we [Friends] had uniformly received and maintained the fundamental Christian truths, in harmony with clear Scripture doctrine.[10]

Among the several English travelling ministers who were grieved by the destructive teachings of Hicks, we mention but one, Thomas Shillitoe, who labored many years among American Friends previous to this time and, burdened heavily because of the heresy and the activity of Hicks, came again to America in 1826. For quite some time he followed in the wake of Hicks's itinerary among the meetings and yearly meetings, seeking earnestly to refute the errors uttered and to stabilize men and women in Christian truth.

As early as 1819, Pine Street Monthly Meeting in Philadelphia had mildly and publicly shown disapproval of Hicks's utterances. In 1822, the elders of Philadelphia sought a private interview with him as he was passing through the city, returning from an itinerary in the southern states. Hicks refused such interview unless a group of his admirers were permitted to meet with them. The elders did, however, put in his hand a document of which the following sentence was a part:

> We feel it a duty to declare that we cannot have religious unity with thy conduct, nor with the doctrines thou art charged with promulgating.

From this time forward there were two groups in Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. It was, without question, a divided house. Two years later the Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings prepared and proposed to the Yearly Meeting a statement, consisting of excerpts from writings of early Friends, which set forth their belief in the authority of the Holy Scriptures, the divinity and sacrificial death of Jesus Christ, etc. The sympathizers of Hicks vigorously opposed including this Statement in the Minutes of the Yearly Meeting, but it was not stricken out. From this time forward the Hicks forces organized against the authority of the elders and the Meeting of Sufferings. The crisis came during the 1827 sessions of the Yearly Meeting, and was attended by considerable tumult and disorder. There were clearly two separate and distinct parties in the Meeting and there appeared no ground for reconciliation between them. During the intermissions, the Hicks party, led by John Comly, held several conferences, and finally decided to separate from the original Society. This party adjourned to assemble in a General Meeting on the first Monday of June. In the interim they circulated to all the meetings belonging to Philadelphia Yearly Meeting an Epistle, setting forth the reasons for their withdrawal from the original body.

The die was cast. The process of separation had begun. Most of the local meetings had in membership some who sympathized with Hicks, and others who did not. The situation was charged with strong emotional elements. Meetings were torn asunder, families entertained separate loyalties, households were divided between the two groups. Tensions abounded, and bitterness found place in multiplied situations. Members of the country meetings in majority aligned with the "Hicksites." In the cities the majority stood with the elders and Meeting for Sufferings of the original Society. Taking the Yearly Meeting as a whole, the Hicksites greatly outnumbered the Orthodox group. Published accounts of exact numbers in each party do not agree; the chasm was so wide that even in statistics their disagreement appears. Whatever the exact figures may have been, one thing is certain, namely, that the entire catastrophe, which brought sorrow to so many lives and homes, must surely have brought far deeper anguish to Him who came from the Father, dwelt among men, and poured out His soul unto death that unworthy sinners might be redeemed.

How this separation might have been averted without compromises tantamount to a denial of God's revelation and love to man, one cannot see; for any religious group which professes itself Christian, and whose membership has experienced the miraculous transformation of God's Spirit within, most certainly holds beliefs and doctrines which its adherents are forever unwilling to surrender. As the writer looks upon a scene so sorrowful as this, his thought is directed to the opening verses of chapter 15 of St. John's Gospel, where the Master's words are recorded:

> I am the true vine, and my Father is the husbandman. Every branch in me that beareth not fruit he taketh away: and every branch that beareth fruit, he purgeth it, that it may bring forth more fruit. . . . As the branch cannot bear fruit of itself, except it abide in the vine; no more can ye, except ye abide in me (verses 1-4).

The separation in Philadelphia Yearly Meeting was only the beginning of a widespread movement. In May, 1828, a like separation came in New York Yearly Meeting – the home meeting of Elias Hicks – and the Hicksites there outnumbered the Orthodox about two to one. The stormiest separation of all occurred in Ohio Yearly Meeting at the end of summer the same year. Again, the conflict between the two parties was clear-cut and sharp. Much has been written regarding the maneuvering, the confusion, and the unbecoming conduct of some, as well as of the deep sorrow of heart on the part of the many. The respective parties were of nearly equal strength. A few weeks later, there was separation in Baltimore Yearly Meeting. Here there was less disorder. Here, too, the Orthodox group was greatly outnumbered. Indiana Yearly Meeting, also, lost a comparatively small number of members who were Hicksite sympathizers. There were no disruptions in the other three then existent American Yearly Meetings: New England, North Carolina, and Virginia.

In a final paragraph, the writer would confess his own deep sorrow of heart that any portion of American Quakerism should have been induced to deny our Lord, His deity, authority, and atoning sacrifice for the sins of the whole world, and thus to set the stage for disunity and division. On the other hand, he would voice hearty thanksgiving to our merciful Heavenly Father for His willingness to forgive sin, and for the preservation of evangelical, saving faith among us. He has not cast us off. Forgiven, purged, chastened, and anointed by the Holy Spirit, the Friends Church (Society of Friends) is still called to share in the high task of publishing salvation to a lost world.

First Denver Friends
Church Library

HICKS GEN.

JOHN 1 b. London 1667-72 } rem Newport, R.I. 1640; w/Eng co. Hempstead NY & Flushing 1642 d. Hempstead. Town delg. 1663

1686 owned 160 A. Cow Neck, L.I.

THOS 2 b. Newport 1640-1741. Flushing patent 4,000 A. 1666. Anglic. d. Flushing age 100. Nassau Co. NY

JACOB 3 1669-1755. d. Rockaway, Hempstead, BENJ.

Isaac 4 1678- in Flushing 1755

John 5 d. 178 - joined Westbury Qks 1748.

Samuel 8 et al b. 1741

ELIAS 8 1748-1830, et al. / Schism
1748-1830
2nd cousin once removed/
Edw artist,
b. Hempstead NY, Queens Co NY on L.I.

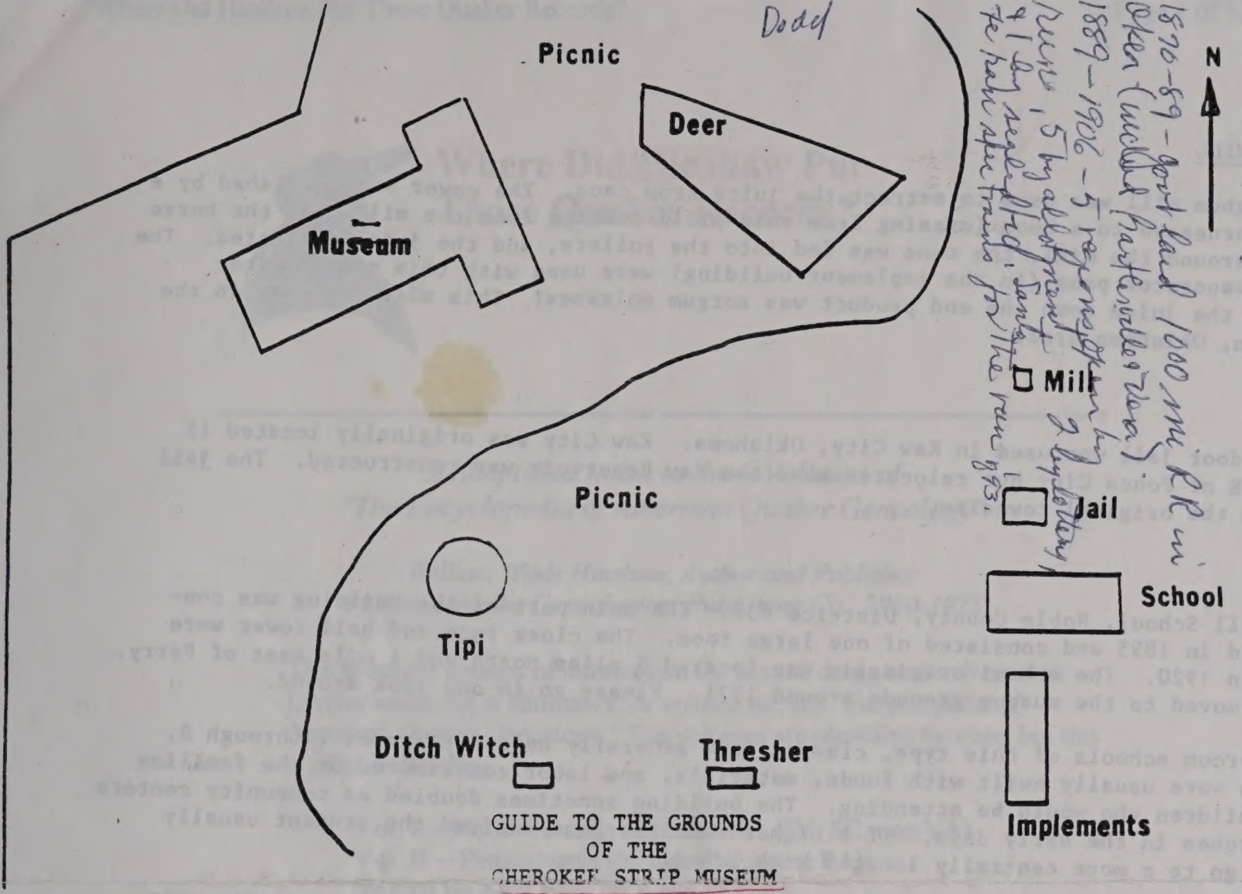
Gilbert 6

Edw 16 artist
1780-1849
Peaceable
Kingdom

Quakers

Dodd

RR
1887 - Santa Fe (AT&SFe) completed N-S rte from Ks to Tex which ran thru Cherokee Outlet (via Wharton, near Perry).
1870-89 - govt laid 1000 mi RR in Okla (includ Bartlesville & Vera).
1889-1906 - 5 regions open by runs, 5 by allotment, 2 by lottery, & 1 by sealed bid. Santa Fe ran spec trains for the run 1893.



GUIDE TO THE GROUNDS
OF THE
CHEROKEE STRIP MUSEUM

Where?

WHITETAIL DEER

The whitetailed deer, the most widespread of North America's big game animals, are found from Canada to Mexico and in all contiguous 48 states except Utah.

The height at the shoulder is 3 to 3½ feet. Weight ranges from 50 to 270 pounds, generally 120 to 160 in Oklahoma. Their color varies with the season; adults are usually tawny in midsummer. Whitetailed deer feed on a variety of plants and plant products.

Mature bucks have antlers which are shed yearly. Bucks in Oklahoma begin growing antlers in late April or early May. Increased day length stimulates changes in the male hormone levels causing antler growth. Growing antlers are covered by velvet, a living tissue containing a network of blood vessels which nourish the antlers from the outside. In this way antlers differ from horns, which are nourished by blood vessels from the inside.

Mating season is late fall. (One fawn, or more commonly twins, is born in late spring.) Fawns are born with spotted coats which are shed in September.

At the museum we have a male and female deer named, Deer Delbert and Deborah Doe by local school children.

TIPI

This modern reproduction of a Cheyenne tipi cover was painted by Otoe High School students from Red Rock, Oklahoma. Although it has no liner and is not furnished, it gives one an idea of the size of these mobile Indian dwellings. Originally it would have been constructed of buffalo hides.

SORGUM MILL

The sorghum mill was used to extract the juice from cane. The power was furnished by a horse harnessed to a boom (missing from this mill) leading from the mill. As the horse walked around the mill, the cane was fed into the rollers, and the juice collected. The large evaporator pans (in the implement building) were used with this mill. After cooking the juice down the end product was sorgum molasses! This mill was used in the Morrison, Oklahoma area.

JAIL

The outdoor jail was used in Kaw City, Oklahoma. Kaw City was originally located 15 miles NE of Ponca City but relocated when the Kaw Reservoir was constructed. The jail is from the original townsite.

SCHOOL

Rose Hill School, Noble County, District #32. The main part of the building was constructed in 1895 and consisted of one large room. The cloak room and bell tower were added in 1920. The school originally was located 5 miles north and 1 mile east of Perry. It was moved to the museum grounds around 1971. Please go in and look around.

In one-room schools of this type, classes were generally held for grades 1 through 8. Schools were usually built with funds, materials, and labor contributed by the families with children who would be attending. The building sometimes doubled as community centers or churches in the early days. If a higher education was desired the student usually had to go to a more centrally located high school.

It was usual for a rural school to draw its students from about a six square mile area around the school. Consequently, there were many schools like this around the country. In 1917 there were 78 school districts in Noble County.

There were many chores associated with school. Building and tending the fire, drawing water for the water barrel and general housekeeping were usually done by the teacher. Sometimes the teacher would appoint the older children to assist.

In the early days, school terms were usually very short. Teachers were paid about $25. a month. In many cases it was necessary for the students to leave school and help with farm work and chores at home. Therefore, it was not unusual for some of the students in the eighth grade to be almost as old as a beginning teacher.

As transportation improved small school districts consolidated with their neighbors, and the buildings were either moved or converted for other purposes.

IMPLEMENT BUILDING

Early farm and transportation equipment is located inside the building. The heavy metal pieces near the door are drill bits from an early rotary oil drilling rig. Please go inside and look around. The light switch is on your left as you enter.

THRESHING MACHINE

This horse-drawn, Woods Brothers, threshing machine was used around 1915.

DITCH WITCH

The 1951 model Ditch Witch trencher is one of the early models produced by the Charles Machine Works of Perry. Now marketed worldwide, the first model was introduced in 1948. The plant is east of the museum grounds.

9

Where Did Hinshaw Put Those Quaker Records?

A Simplified Index to the 6-Volumes of
"The Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy"

William Wade Hinshaw, Author and Publisher
Published by the Genealogical Publishing Co., 1960-1973

The greatest source of information for anyone doing research on their Quaker ancestors is Hinshaw's six volume set, the "Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy." The volumes are identified by state, but this is often misleading.

Vol. I -- North Carolina (includes NC, TN, SC, one VA)
Vol. II -- Pennsylvania (includes NJ, some PA)
Vol. III --- New York (NY and LI)
Vol. IV -- Ohio (some OH, some PA, MI)
Vol. V -- Ohio (some OH)
Vol. VI -- Virginia (most all VA)

Separate sets of records were diligently kept by both the Mens' and Womens' Meetings, making our Quaker ancestors fairly easy to research. They kept records for everything -- births, deaths, marriages, disownments and, best of all, whenever they transferred from one meeting to another. This makes it relatively easy to trace migration paths. Unfortunately, Hinshaw found it necessary to include New Jersey records in the Pennsylvania book and Tennessee records in the North Carolina book. There's even a Virginia Meeting that's not in the Virginia book!

The following index was prepared to take the confusion out of your day at the Genealogy Library. Print this out and take it with you. Share it with your fellow Quaker researchers. Have fun!

Michigan || New Jersey || North Carolina
New York || Ohio || Pennsylvania
South Carolina || Tennessee || Virginia

Michigan

- Adriana, MI -- Vol. IV (OH)

New Jersey

- Burlington MM, NJ -- Vol. II (PA)
- Salem MM, NJ -- Vol. II (PA)

North Carolina

- Back Creek MM, NC -- Vol. I (NC)
- Cane Creek MM, NC -- Vol. I (NC)
- Center MM, NC -- Vol. I (NC)
- Contentnea (Nahunta) MM, NC -- Vol. I (NC)
- Core Sound MM, NC -- Vol. I (NC)
- Deep Creek MM, NC -- Vol. I (NC)
- Deep River MM, NC -- Vol. I (NC)
- Dover MM, NC -- Vol. I (NC)
- Greensboro MM, NC -- Vol. I (NC)
- High Point MM, NC -- Vol. I (NC)
- Holly Spring MM, NC -- Vol. I (NC)
- Hopewell MM, NC -- Vol. I (NC)
- Marlborough MM, NC -- Vol. I (NC)
- Neuse MM, NC -- Vol. I (NC)
- New Garden MM, NC -- Vol. I (NC)
- Pasquotank (Symons Creek) MM, NC -- Vol. I (NC)
- Perquimans (Piney Woods) MM, NC -- Vol. I (NC)
- Rich Square MM, NC (incl. Jack Swamp) -- Vol. I (NC)
- Spring MM, NC -- Vol. I (NC)
- Springfield MM, NC -- Vol. I (NC)
- Suttons Creek MM, NC -- Vol. I (NC)
- Union MM, NC -- Vol. I (NC)
- Westfield MM, NC -- Vol. I (NC)
- Woodland MM, NC -- Vol. I (NC)

New York & Long Island

- Flushing MM, LI -- Vol. III (NY)
- Jericho MM, LI -- Vol. III (NY)
- New York (originally Flushing) MM, NY -- Vol. III (NY)
- Westbury MM, LI -- Vol. III (NY)

Ohio

- Alum Creek, Delaware Co., OH -- Vol. IV (OH)
- Caesar's Creek, Clinton Co., OH -- Vol. V (OH)
- Carmel, Columbiana Co., OH -- Vol. IV (OH)
- Center, Clinton Co., OH -- Vol. V (OH)
- Chesterfield, Athens Co., OH -- Vol. IV (OH)
- Cincinnati, Hamilton Co., OH -- Vol. V (OH)
- Clear Creek, Clinton Co., OH -- Vol. V (OH)
- Cleveland, Cuyahoga Co., OH -- Vol. IV (OH)
- Columbus, Franklin Co., OH -- Vol. IV (OH)
- Concord, Belmont Co., OH -- Vol. IV (OH)
- Deerfield (Pennsville), Morgan Co., OH -- Vol. IV (OH)
- Dover, Clinton Co., OH -- Vol. V (OH)
- East Goshen, Mahoning Co., OH -- Vol. IV (OH)
- Elk, Preble Co., OH -- Vol. V (OH)
- Fairfield, Highland Co., OH -- Vol. V (OH)
- Fall Creek, Highland Co., OH -- Vol. V (OH)
- Flushing, Belmont Co., OH -- Vol. IV (OH)
- Gilead, Morrow Co., OH -- Vol. IV (OH)
- X Goshen (Darby Creek), Logan Co., OH -- Vol. IV (OH)
- Green Plain, Clark Co., OH -- Vol. V (OH)
- Greenwich, Morrow Co., OH -- Vol. IV (OH)
- Hopewell, Clinton Co., OH -- Vol. V (OH)
- Lees Creek, Highland Co., OH -- Vol. V (OH)
- Marlborough, Stark Co., OH -- Vol. IV (OH)
- Miami, Warren Co., OH -- Vol. V (OH)
- Middleton, Columbiana Co., OH -- Vol. IV (OH)
- Mill Creek, Miami Co., OH -- Vol. V (OH)
- New Garden, Columbiana Co., OH -- Vol. IV (OH)
- Newberry, Clinton Co., OH -- Vol. V (OH)
- Plainfield, Belmont Co., OH -- Vol. IV (OH)
- Plymouth, Washington Co., OH -- Vol. IV (OH)
- Plymouth-Smithfield, Jefferson Co., OH -- Vol. IV (OH)
- Salem, Columbiana Co., OH -- Vol. IV (OH)
- Sandy Spring, Columbiana Co., OH -- Vol. IV (OH)
- Short Creek (Mt. Pleasant), Jefferson Co,. OH -- Vol. IV (OH)
- Somerset, Belmont Co., OH -- Vol. IV (OH)
- Springfield, Clinton Co., OH -- Vol. V (OH)
- Springsborough, Warren Co., OH -- Vol. V (OH)
- Stillwater, Belmont Co., OH -- Vol. IV (OH)
- Union, Miami Co., OH -- Vol. V (OH)
- Upper Springfield, Columbiana Co., OH -- Vol. IV (OH)
- Van Wert, Van Wert Co., OH -- Vol. V (OH)
- West Branch, Miami Co., OH -- Vol. V (OH)
- West, Mahoning Co., OH -- Vol. IV (OH)
- Westfield, Preble Co., OH -- Vol. V (OH)

Pennsylvania

- Falls MM, PA -- Vol. II (PA)
- Philadelphia MM, PA -- Vol. II (PA)
- Providence, Fayette Co., PA -- Vol. IV (OH)
- Redstone, Fayette Co., PA -- Vol. IV (OH)
- Sewickley, Westmoreland Co., PA -- Vol. IV (OH)
- Westland, Washington Co., PA -- Vol. IV (OH)

South Carolina

- Bush River MM, SC -- Vol. I (NC)
- Cane Creek MM, SC -- Vol. I (NC)
- Charleston MM, SC -- Vol. I (NC)
- Piney Grove MM, SC -- Vol. I (NC)
- Wrightsborough MM, SC (Georgia?) -- Vol. I (NC)

Tennessee

- Lost Creek MM, TN -- Vol. I (NC)
- New Hope MM, TN -- Vol. I (NC)
- Newberry (Friendsville) MM, TN -- Vol. I (NC)

Virginia

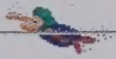
- Alexandria MM, VA -- Vol. VI (VA)
- Bedford Co., VA (Marriage Bonds) -- Vol. VI (VA)
- Black Water MM, VA -- Vol. VI (VA)
- Camp Creek MM, VA -- Vol. VI (VA)
- Campbell Co., VA (Marriage Bonds) -- Vol. VI (VA)
- Cedar Creek MM, VA -- Vol. VI (VA)
- Chuckatuck MM, VA -- Vol. VI (VA)
- Crooked Run MM, VA -- Vol. VI (VA)
- Fairfax MM, VA -- Vol. VI (VA)
- Goose Creek MM (Bedford Co.), VA -- Vol. VI (VA)
- Goose Creek MM (Loudon Co.), VA -- Vol. VI (VA)
- Henrico MM, VA -- Vol. VI (VA)
- Hopewell MM, VA -- Vol. VI (VA)
- Mt. Pleasant (Chestnut Creek) MM, VA -- Vol. I (NC)
- Pagan Creek MM, VA -- Vol. VI (VA)
- South River MM, VA -- Vol. VI (VA)

- Upper MM, VA -- Vol. VI (VA)
- Virginia Yearly Meeting -- Vol. VI (VA)
- Western Branch MM, VA -- Vol. VI (VA)

You should be able to find Hinshaw's books in any Genealogy Library, through Inter-Library Loan or purchase them through the publisher, Genealogical Publishing Co.

The Abstracts of the Records of the Soc. of Friends in Indiana, are not included in this Index. They were compiled from Hinshaw's notes after his death by Willard Heiss and others.

Looking for a Meeting that doesn't show up on this list?
Check JTR's QUAKER MEETINGS list.



Gene Pool | Quaker Corner | Oregon Genealogy | NJ Founders | Ball Room | Surnames
Research Aids | Gifts from Forefathers | Favorite Websites | What's New | Guide

KindredKeepsakes, P.O. Box 41552, Eugene, Oregon 97404-0369
jrabun@ix.netcom.com

dgburt@pioneer.net Garwood 1610-1921

NJ VA OH IL IN OR

Iburas@lsumc.edu

Garwood 1700-1900 NJ

Prog Friends QUAKER

More on Prog Fr + spiritualism
Embrace Ann's new religion - Spirit
1853. S.T. at f. of Prog Fr in NY.
S.T. converted slowly to sp -- 1st seance in NY in 1851
w Amy Post. By 1857 she was ready to move to
Harmonia.

Hick emp Inward Light as source of personal salvation
Orthod - the doctrine of the atonement.

Prog. Fr. in Milton MM Ulster Co NY -
hope to limit power of ministers & elders. Prod
rel ferved. 1843 Marl. MM protested discipline for marrying out

disowned many, New MM of Prog
?
~~now~~ Genesee YrM to meet an ~~[illegible] w NY~~. Waterloo, Seneca Co, NY. from 1849. Here
Lucretia Mott, Hick preacher & her sister Martha, &
Elizabeth Cady Stanton - all Clks - + others drafted the
Call for the first convention on women's rights
to be held at Seneca Falls in July 1848. Susan
B. Anthony of Waterloo in 1857 was not disowned
but remained w the Hick Fr of Rochester. S.T.
a leading speaker at Waterloo as were Garrison + Douglass. + Eliz Cady
Stanton. Mich YrM 1857 at Bat Cr Mi - S.T. spoke on freedom
of the slave; others on equality for women, freedom of the public lands
+ freedom of conscience.

John Mott b 1783 - Hempstead, Lg Is. Lived in Westchester Co NY, + rem
to Rensselaerville NY - kept priv school 1827-37. + 37 rem
to Mich, Parma near Hickory Grove.

[illegible] Corp L + [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] - Special

553 ST at [illegible] Corp Tr in N.Y.
1st [illegible] to Sp. - 1st [illegible] in Sept 1851.
[illegible] Army Post. Sep 1854 [illegible] to
[illegible].

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] - [illegible]

Corp Tr in [illegible] N.Y. [illegible] 1st Lt in 1841.
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] 1843 [illegible] [illegible]

7 [illegible] [illegible] 1827
[illegible] [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] July 1848.
[illegible]
[illegible] S.T.
[illegible] [illegible] Johnson + Vaughan + Clay Cty
[illegible] 1839 [illegible] U.S. - S.T. [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible] 1793 - [illegible]
to Rensselaer Poly - [illegible] 1827-37, + 37 Now
to Mich. [illegible]

Q

Printed Research References

The following titles are basic tools for Quaker research, and information on the Society of Friends. There are many more of course.

✓ **Hinshaw, William Wade. ENCYCLOPEDIA OF AMERICAN QUAKER GENEALOGY. Vol. 1: NC - Vol. 2: PA and NJ - Vol. 3: NY - Vols. 4 & 5: OH - Vol. 6: VA. Originally published Ann Arbor, 1938. Reprint by Genealogical Publishing Co., 1969, 1978, 1991. These volumes are the backbone of the extensive records kept by the Monthly Meetings of the Society of Friends in the U.S. They include births, marriages, deaths, disownments, and receiving on a certificate from another meeting or obtaining a certificate of removal to another meeting. They are invaluable to the Quaker researcher. However, they are not wholly comprehensive as to meetings covered. The following titles fill in some of the gaps.**

Heiss, Willard, ed. ENCYCLOPEDIA OF AMERICAN QUAKER GENEALOGY, Vol. 7: ABSTRACTS OF RECORDS OF THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS IN INDIANA, Parts 1-6. Indiana Historical Society, 1975.

✓ **BUCKS COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA, CHURCH RECORDS OF THE 18th CENTURY. Vol. 2, by Anna Miller Watring, QUAKER RECORDS - FALLS AND MIDDLETOWN MONTHLY MEETINGS. Family Line Publications, 1993. Also vol. 3, by Watring, QUAKER RECORDS - WRIGHTSTOWN, RICHLAND, BUCKINGHAM, MAKEFIELD AND SOLEBURY MONTHLY MEETINGS, 1994.**

EARLY CHURCH RECORDS OF CHESTER COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA, in 3 vols. as follows: Vol. 1: Reamy, Martha. QUAKER RECORDS OF BRADFORD MONTHLY MEETING, 1995. Vol. 2: Meldrum, Charlotte and Martha Reamy. QUAKER RECORDS OF UWCHLAND, GOSHEN, & NEW GARDEN MONTHLY MEETINGS, AND EAST VINCENT REFORMED, 1997. Vol. 3: Meldrum, Charlotte. QUAKER RECORDS OF KENNETT, & LONDON GROVE MONTHLY MEETINGS, & EXTRACTS FROM ST JOHN'S EPISCOPAL CHURCH AND GREAT VALLEY BAPTIST CHURCH. Family Line Publications, 1998.

Beard, Alice L. BIRTHS, DEATHS AND MARRIAGES OF THE NOTTINGHAM QUAKERS, 1680-1889, Family Line Publications, 1989.

Meldrum, Charlotte. EARLY CHURCH RECORDS OF BURLINGTON COUNTY, NEW JERSEY, 3 vols. Family Line Publications, 1995. Includes most of the early Friends' meetings in the colony of West Jersey.

White, Jr., Miles. EARLY QUAKER RECORDS IN VIRGINIA. Genealogical Publishing Co., 1979.

HOPEWELL FRIENDS HISTORY, 1734-1934. Joint Committee of Hopewell Friends. 1936, reprint 1993 by Family Line Publications. 200 years of history and records of Hopewell Monthly Meeting, including births, marriages, deaths, disownments and removals, many of which can be found nowhere else. Many of the earliest records have been lost, but this Meeting is important because of the great number of families who removed here from Pennsylvania, beginning in the 1730's and 40's.

Eckert, Jack D., comp. A GUIDE TO THE RECORDS OF PHILADELPHIA YEARLY MEETING. Family Line Publications, 1989. Virtually a complete listing of Quaker records available for PA and NJ, held at the two Quaker repositories, Swarthmore and Haverford. Note: Not all of the early Quaker registers and minutes were filmed by the LDS (Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints).

There are other publications covering other meetings not contained in "Hinshaw." Consult the online library links to Quaker college libraries given on our "References for Research and Information" page, and on The Quaker Corner website. The following titles are also useful for research and general information:

Berry, Ellen Thomas and David Allen Berry. OUR QUAKER ANCESTORS: FINDING THEM IN QUAKER RECORDS. Genealogical Publishing Co., 1987.

Sheppard, Jr., Walter Lee. PASSENGERS AND SHIPS PRIOR TO 1684. Also McCrackin, George E. THE WELCOME CLAIMANTS, PROVED, DISPROVED AND DOUBTFUL. Both are Publications of The Welcome Society of Pennsylvania, No. 1. Genealogical Publishing Co., 1970.

Myers, Albert Cook. IMMIGRATION OF THE IRISH QUAKERS INTO PENNSYLVANIA, 1682-1750. Family Line Publications, 1994.

Roberts, Clarence V. EARLY FRIENDS FAMILIES OF UPPER BUCKS. Family Line Publications, 1995 (reprint of 1925 ed.). Pertains to the first settlers of the upper part of Bucks County, Pennsylvania, one of the first areas settled by Penn's Quakers.

Hinshaw, Seth B. THE CAROLINA QUAKER EXPERIENCE, 1665-1985. NC Yearly Meeting and NC Friends Historical Society, 1984. Of interest to all whose Quaker ancestors joined the great migration of Friends who moved south from Pennsylvania and New Jersey, through Virginia, to North Carolina. There was also an area in the upper eastern corner of North Carolina, the Albemarle Sound area which was settled very early (1670's-80's).

Meldrum, Charlotte. EARLY CHURCH RECORDS OF BURLINGTON COUNTY, NEW
JERSEY, 3 vols. Family Line Publications, 1995. Includes most of the early Friends' meetings
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White, Jr., Miles. EARLY QUAKER RECORDS IN VIRGINIA. Genealogical Publishing Co.,
979.

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lina, the Albemarle Sound area which was settled very early (1670's-80's).
[illegible]

✓**Jones, Rufus M. QUAKERS IN THE AMERICAN COLONIES. Macmillan, 1911.**

✓**Elliott, Errol T. QUAKERS ON THE AMERICAN FRONTIER. Friends United Press, 1969.**

Fischer, David Hackett. ALBION'S SEED, FOUR BRITISH FOLKWAYS IN AMERICA. Oxford University Press, 1989. One of the British "folkways" is the Friends migration from England, into Delaware and the middle colonies. All aspects of life and customs are examined. Most interesting and easy to read.

Crowe, Elizabeth Powell. GENEALOGY ONLINE: RESEARCHING YOUR ROOTS. McGraw-Hill, 2nd ed., 1996.

from Sonia

| HOME PAGE | Top of Page | Membership | History |
| References for Research and Information | Useful Links |

NOTES ON THE AMERICANS: COL. EXP. by Boorstin : Pa. Quakers

Had elements of dem - equality of all; simplicity; toleration - all men good, even Ind. But obstinate, martyr complex, preoccupation with own soul purity which made for anti community and rigidity.

Martyr quests. Pur b instit & community; Q chose purity over comm. Fox: every man enlightened by divine Light of Christ. In prisons w joy. Unwilling to stay in RI which refused persecution, and welcomed. Lust after hardships. Proud of abuse willingly suffered by Pur. Sarah & Dorothy felt moved to Boston, left RI, walked in blizzard to preach, imprisoned & banned. Glady paid for their Truth. Pur not sadists, let alone to pursue their Truth; Q no right to interfere. Persec in NE made it attractive to martys.who were commissioned by God came prepared to die. Mary Dyer, 1659, ban, tried, and sentenced to hang w 2 others; these were, she let go and ban; Came back 60, and hanged. Gladly.

The Lost Opporutnity

The Oath problems of governing: Failed as govern. 1st int in gospel, good news for all, but this usurped by being a peculiar people, more int in perfect than in diffusing it in world. Rigid customs - non removal of hat became arrogant and purposeless; also drab costume; silence a form of worship; lang of thee, marriage & burial, all forms. Pur compromised but Q dogmas grew fixed and uncompromising. Personal rectitude and purity its undoing. Letter killed. No longer Searchers for the Truth, but Herlalds; enforcers. Q. rule: dilemma; one thing to live by Q principles, another to rule by them. Couldnot. Oaths a creeping paralysis. Could not sere as jurors, hold office, give evidence in criminal cases, but ran gove Pa Assembly w/o oaths til 93 - Pann lost prop & Royal Eng took over. 1718 Q got affirmation for oath,but still included the phrase "in the name of Almight God", a no-no. Many Q left office, or to get around it voted for non-Q for office. Against

fenceless; small comfort to less pure. 1755, 300 Ger from w arr to Phil to demand mil protection; only Q idealized Ind; refused to consider them demented w drink. Preoccupation with their principles, blinded them to the most obvious facts. 1755-56 when some Q massacred saw it as chastisement of God, and thought it providence not more attacked. BF not impressed, lamented delays in fighting backas he believed in drubbing them.

Withdrawal: Q saw that governing ill-fitted to their principles; to gov is repugnant, But Q oligarch in Pa. BF - all men subject to mil duty, but Q not have to bear arms, but to help pay for defense. Q still in control of Assembly in 56; 1/4 of pop but held 28 fo 36 seats. Crown unhappy w west Pa massacres and wanted permanent disqualification of Q from hold off in Pa - unfit for gov, esp in war time. 6 leading Q resigned; after stormy 75 yrs the end of Q rule, not by
abdication of pol. power
defeat but by abdication. London Q happy, relieved; wanted them not to vote at all. Pa Q secretly hope to return to power after peace. Didn't. Q also against revolution, and labeled as Tories; ergo, treason. In withdrawing paid more attention to the purification of other Q, to make even more peculair - revival of simple dress, house,
attending rel services of other churches
furniture, abolishe gravestones as vanity. And freedom of slaves.
For humanitarianism; prison, insane-asylums, hospitals, educ.

Curse of Perfectionism; failure of rel to control govt, the Holy Experiment. To keep pure they sacrificed community to crime, massacre, war, indifferent to reality. Leave it to God. London Yrly Meet greatly influence Pa Q, the mother society in Eng; close ties to their detriment, deferring to, and destroyed themselves. Geog. insularity - 3 col - Pa, Bucks Co, Phila, Chester. Not in w Pa til 1770, andthus did not know, feel for Scot-Ir and Ger there. Prohibited intermarriage
Disputes set by arbitration; scorned courts. Sought or had few converts.
Hope to save own from trifling faults. Self-righteous, rigid, made dogma of the absence of dogma; deprived of theological security.

Fenceless; small comfort to less pure. 1755, 300 Ger from w arr to Phil to demand mil protection: only Q idealized Ind; refused to consider them demented w drink. Preoccupation with their principles, blinded them to the most obvious facts. 1755-56 when some Q massacred saw it as chastisement of God, and thought it providence not more attacked. BF not impressed, lamented delays in fighting backs as he believed in drubbing them.

Withdrawal: Q saw that governing ill-fitted to their principles; to gov is repugnant. But Q oligarch in Pa. BF - all men subject to mil duty, but Q not have to bear arms, but to help pay for defense. Q still in control of Assembly in 56; 1/4 of pop but held 28 to 36 seats. Crown unhappy w west Pa massacres and wanted permanent disqualification of Q from hold off in Pa - unfit for gov, esp in war time. 6 leading Q resigned; after stormy 75 yrs the end of Q rule, not by
abdication of pol. power
defeat but by abdication. London Q happy, relieved; wanted them not to vote at all. Pa Q secretly hope to return to power after peace. Didn't. Q also against revolution, and labeled as Tories; ergo, treason. In withdrawing paid more attention to the purification of other Q, to make even more peculair - revival of simple dress, house,
attending rel services of other churches
furniture, abolishe gravestones as vanity. And freedom of slaves. For humanitarianism: prison, insane-asylums, hospitals, educ.

Curse of Perfectionism: failure of rel to control govt, the Holy Experiment. To keep pure they sacrificed community to crime, massacre, war, indifferent to reality. Leave it to God. London Yrly Meet greatly influence Pa Q, the mother society in Eng; close ties to their detriment, deferring to, and destroyed themselves. Geog. insularity - col - Ex, Bucks Co, Phila, Chester. Not in w Pa til 1770, andthus ld not know, feel for Scot-Ir and Ger there. Prohibited intermarriage isputes set by arbitration; scorned courts. Sought or had few converts. ope to safe own from trifling faults. Self-righteous, rigid, made ogma of the absence of dogma; deprived of theological security.

NOTES ON R. CURRENT: AM HIST: QUAKER COLONIES _ Pa, NJ, Dela.

Soc of Friends. Fox, shoemaker, Q from his admonition to tremble at thename of the Lord. Doct. of Inner Ligh, illumination from God in each -the divine conscience- if heeded could guide human beings along the paths of righteousness. Q anarchistic and democratic for times. No ch govt, pd clergy as all equal in divine service, disregard social distinctions in sex and class, against oaths and wars. Unpopular, jailed and sought rel refuge in Am. Fox came 1671-72 to consider a col; ~~got g~~ wealthy and prominent Eng Q got grant, Penn s/o admiral to whom king owned money. NJ owned by Q, Carteret prop of East; but Q took the West. Penn bought East from Carteret- 82; both united as one col, 1702. Penn granted Pa in 81, and he sold large tracts to rich Q and some Ger. Est. Holy Experiment - col of brotherly love, laid out Phil in 82, bought land from Indians, who viewed him as an honest white man. His col had no trouble during his lifetime. Propered as soil fertile, settlers well-to-do.

Not so great a wilderness as Va or N Eng. as some Dutch, Swedes and Finna had already settled. Remarkable growth. By 1770's pop 1/3 Eng, 1/3 Ger, 1/3 Scotch-Irish. but did not intermix much as lived in separate areas - Eng around Phila, Ger n and w, and Scot-Ir w. frontier. Ger and Scot-Ir warmed up Shenandoah Valley to Carolinas, and Boone on into Ky by 1769. 1760 pop Phila - 23,000, largest in Col.

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The State Historical Society of Missouri

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The editors of the *Missouri Historical Review* welcome submission of articles and documents relating to the history of Missouri. Any aspect of Missouri history will be considered for publication in the *Review.* Manuscripts pertaining to all fields of American history will be considered if the subject matter has significant relevance to the history of Missouri, the Middle West, or the West. Genealogical studies, however, are not accepted because of limited appeal to general readers.

Authors should submit two double-spaced copies of their manuscripts. Footnotes, prepared according to *The Chicago Manual of Style*, 15th ed., also should be double-spaced and placed at the end of the text. Authors are encouraged to submit manuscripts, preferably in Microsoft Word, on a disk or CD. Two hard copies still are required. Originality of subject, general interest of the article, sources used, interpretation, and style are criteria for acceptance and publication. Manuscript length, exclusive of footnotes, should be between 4,000 and 7,500 words. The editorial staff will not evaluate manuscripts that have been published elsewhere or have been submitted to another publication for consideration. Articles that are accepted for publication become the property of The State Historical Society of Missouri and may not be published elsewhere without permission. The Society does not accept responsibility for statements of fact or opinion made by the authors.

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Manuscripts submitted to the *Missouri Historical Review* should be addressed to Dr. Gary R. Kremer, Editor, *Missouri Historical Review*, The State Historical Society of Missouri, 1020 Lowry Street, Columbia, MO 65201-7298.

*Cover Description: Following the April 1968 murder of civil rights leader Martin Luther King Jr., African Americans vented their frustration and anger through demonstrations and riots in numerous American cities, including Kansas City. On April 9, the day of King's funeral, hundreds of students protested the superintendent's decision to hold school by walking out, congregating, and challenging the city's authorities by marching to the city hall. What began as a tense demonstration became a riot after tear gas was thrown into the crowd. David K. Fly, the man on the right at the center of the cover photo, was one of the clergy attempting to keep the demonstration peaceful. He recalls his role in the Kansas City events in "An Episcopal Priest's Reflections on the Kansas City Riot of 1968," beginning on page 103. [*Kansas City Star *photo, courtesy Ilus Davis Papers, Western Historical Manuscript Collection, University of Missouri-Kansas City]*

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The Legacy of Squire Boone

IKE SKELTON*

Thank you for inviting me to speak to the annual meeting of The State Historical Society of Missouri. The prospect of addressing this distinguished gathering, even for a University of Missouri history major such as myself, is enough to make one a little nervous. But I am also very grateful. This is a real honor.

Through the years, I have had the opportunity to give talks to all kinds of groups, but I have to tell you a story about one of my more memorable speaking engagements when I learned that even some first graders have a sense of history. Shortly after I was elected to Congress, I was invited to speak to a group of first graders in Independence, Missouri. Two of my staffers accompanied me, and as it happened, they both were wearing trench coats to the event.

After trying to explain my work in the U.S. House of Representatives to the first-grade class, I agreed to take some questions. One young student raised his hand, pointed to my staff, and asked, "Are those your bodyguards?" The next student asked, "Do you know Robert E. Lee?"

Many times each year, I visit with children of all ages in schools throughout the twenty-five counties of Missouri's Fourth Congressional District. Since 2003, a good number of my school visits have been related to a program I started known as History Matters. My History Matters program gives me the opportunity to encourage the future leaders of our nation to recognize the importance of American history and civic education.

In addition to delivering guest lectures to students about significant events in American history, I have a History Matters section on my congressional Web site that features a different historical highlight each month. I also try to spread the word about federal civic education programs, such as the We the People initiative sponsored by the National Endowment for the Humanities, which provides grants for teachers and librarians who develop projects that promote important historical events. In addition, History Matters allows me to call attention to important historic sites within the Fourth District, such as the Lewis and Clark Trail and the Battle of Lexington State Historic Site.

Congressman Ike Skelton is a native of Lexington.
[Courtesy of the author]

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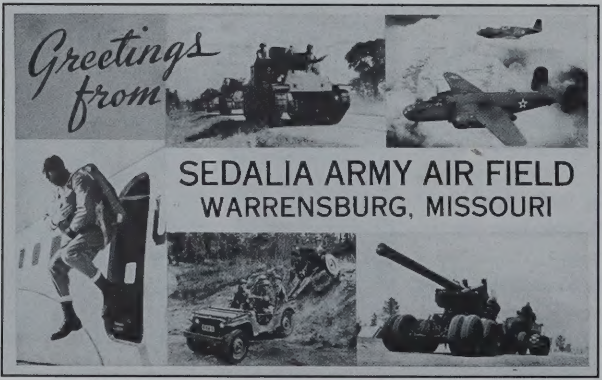
*Ike Skelton, U.S. Representative from Missouri's Fourth District, presented these remarks at The State Historical Society of Missouri's annual meeting on November 5, 2005.

I have thoroughly enjoyed my History Matters activities, and I like to think that this effort makes a difference for at least a few of the young people with whom I come in contact. Sadly, many schoolchildren today lack a basic appreciation and understanding of important historic events. When students of all ages learn about American history and their government, they become better citizens. I hope that by focusing on these important topics, I can help students discover our common heritage and the values that make our nation great.

I firmly believe that the polestar of a liberal education is the study of history. Understanding history is not a science—it is an art. History is integral to the values promoted by this society. As an undergraduate at the University of Missouri, I was fortunate to have a mentor. Dr. Lewis Atherton taught me not only to value the history of America, but he instilled in me the need to continue to learn of our past and that it is only in the pages of history that we find why America is so unique as a country.

But as for myself, I can honestly say that even before I attended college, I was always interested in history and in military history in particular. I was a youngster during World War II, so my interest in the military started early. I remember so well a warm, autumn day in my hometown of Lexington, Missouri. I was eleven years of age, and I was with my buddies on the north side of Franklin Avenue, across from my home, when I heard and saw overhead an army transport airplane pulling an army glider. I had heard that the Army Air Corps had a base near Sedalia (now known as Whiteman Air Force Base) where these planes were located. Those same army gliders carried American soldiers who landed at Normandy on D-Day, June 6, 1944.

Several months earlier (I think it must have been in 1943) I was at school with my best buddy Don Savio when his brother, Walter, who was in the army and was on leave, came to walk my friend home from school. I will never forget the sight of Walter in his army uniform carrying his gas mask in a satchel he had flung over his shoulder. As I'm sure you can imagine, it made a deep impression.



This 1940s postcard is from the Sedalia Army Air Field, which became Whiteman Air Force Base in 1955. [SHSMO 024153]

But when I was an eleven-year-old boy, never in my wildest dreams did I think I would some day help make important decisions regarding our military forces. For most of my time in Congress, I have been a member of the House Armed Services Committee, and I have found that my early interest in military history has been an invaluable complement to my work. But it has also impressed upon me how important it is for our leaders, and our military leaders in particular, to become historians in their own right.

Although a thorough and deep understanding of history is important to people in many different walks of life and lines of work, it is my belief that historical knowledge, understanding, and analytical thought is critical to those in the military professions. Sir William Francis Butler put it very well when he said, "The nation that will insist on drawing a broad line of demarcation between the fighting man and the thinking man is liable to find its fighting done by fools and its thinking done by cowards."

Civilian professionals—doctors, lawyers, dentists, accountants, and others—are able to do their jobs and practice their craft on an everyday basis. This gives them the opportunity to sharpen their skills and operate at the highest levels. The same cannot be said for those in the military professions.

Soldiers are involved in the real business of war infrequently, perhaps once or twice in a generation. Don't misunderstand me—no one wants to live in a world that is plagued by a constant state of total war. But one of the consequences of the cyclical nature of conflict is that it does not allow our military professionals to build upon daily experience or to create a broad familiarity with precedents to assist in their decision making.

One way military professionals build and develop their skills is through war games and exercises. But although practice during drills is important and such exercises can be a very useful tool, a professional military education is incomplete if it does not include serious historical study of past conflicts.

Historical precedents can help guide us into the future. Every war or conflict may be examined as if it were a petri dish to learn from previous situations. This is not a matter of simply memorizing names and dates and geography. To make the best decisions, professionals in all arenas need the capability to move beyond dealing with the crisis at hand and create a vision for future action. They must be able to call upon past precedents and insights, which leads to second and third order thought.

There is a story about an exchange between a historian and a senior officer in the Israeli military. The general said, "What makes you think that your study of past battles, campaigns, and wars has any relevance in this day of high firepower, lightning warfare, electronic battlefields, jet planes, and satellites?" The historian replied, "What makes you think you're smart enough to win the next war on the basis of your experience alone?"

A general of genius is one who can exploit his instincts and knowledge of the art of war, interpret the signs correctly, and then mobilize the material, human, and intellectual capital to win the next war. Deep study of the past allows students to synthesize what they have learned so that they can use these lessons to prepare for future conflicts and not just prepare to fight the war that was just fought—which is a trap that many leaders and national military establishments have been caught up in throughout history.

Sadly, great power is no guarantee of getting it right. At the end of World War I, the French became fixated on the concept of the "methodical battle." Experience on the Western Front and the success of static defensive combat convinced the French that enormous doses of firepower applied in support of rigorously disciplined advancing lines of infantry would assure victory at minimum cost in human life. This led to the development of the Maginot Line, the concrete fortifications along France's borders with Germany and Italy.

The Germans, on the other hand, reacted to the stalemate in the trenches by transforming their method of fighting. The "storm tactics" first employed by the Germans on the Western Front became the blitzkrieg, which exploited the superior maneuverability of aircraft and mobile vehicles to bypass the enemy's strong extremities and strike at its brain. This tactic was brought to life and successfully applied by the Germans as they circled the Maginot Line during World War II. The French and the British learned the hard way that adding resources is of no use if the fundamental vision and concepts are wrong.

And what of the American reaction to its experience during World War I? A group of young army officers—including Dwight D. Eisenhower, George Patton, Omar Bradley, Billy Mitchell, and George C. Marshall—committed themselves to building an army that could fight effectively, especially in the realm of maneuver warfare. Hoping to prevent a recurrence of the ghastly trench warfare of World War I, they advocated rearming with modern weapons, including tanks and airplanes. As at other times in American history, we were fortunate to benefit from the foresight of such talented strategic thinkers.

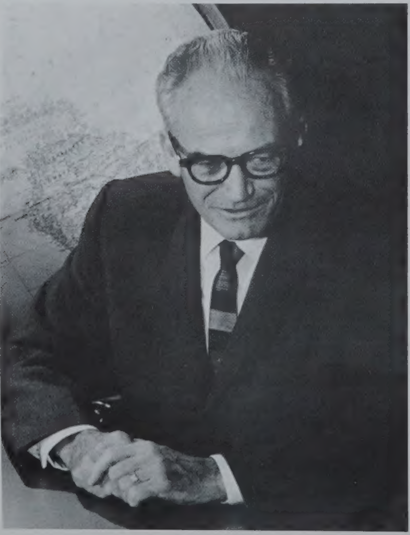
But where are today's strategic thinkers? How do we develop the leaders whose vision will lead us into the future? From my perspective, we have to start by scrutinizing America's professional military education system. For almost twenty years, I have made professional military education, or PME, a specialty of my work on the House Armed Services Committee.

The first thing a brand-new officer in the United States military does is swear to uphold the Constitution of the United States. The president makes this pledge when he takes the oath of office, as do members of Congress when they are sworn into office. While the Constitution designates the president as the commander-in-chief, our founding documents charge the Congress of the United States with the duty and responsibility of raising and maintaining the military. This means that Congress plays an indispensable role in setting the policies that govern the operations of our armed forces. In recent years, Congress spearheaded two major initiatives that transformed the military. I am proud to say that I found myself engulfed in both of them.

In 1982, Congressman Richard White of Texas was chairman of a subcommittee on the Armed Services Committee. He held a series of hearings following a public declaration by General David Jones that the Joint Chiefs of Staff system was broken, the Joint Chiefs of Staff give pablum advice, water down recommendations, and do not fulfill the functions of the job. Congressman White's hearings focused on the lack of jointness among the military services. When Congressman White retired at the end of 1982, a staffer by the name of Arch Barrett, who I am convinced was and still is a national treasure, convinced me to get involved with the issue. With Barrett's help, we put together legislation I introduced that abolished the Joint Chiefs of Staff. After introducing that legislation, I quickly learned that not one member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff had a sense of humor.

My legislation abolishing the Joint Chiefs of Staff got the debate started. We eventually passed rewritten legislation, thanks to the subcommittee chairman to whom this was assigned, Bill Nichols. We passed the bill three times in the House of Representatives. The first two times, the bill was killed in the Senate by Senator John Tower of Texas, who made sure that the legislation never made it past his committee. When Senator Tower left the Senate, Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona became chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee. The Senate moved its own bill, and at the end of the day, we were able to glue together a bill known as Goldwater-Nichols that changed the entire culture of the United States military. The act created jointness among the military services not just in name only, but in truth and fact.

Because one of the ways Goldwater-Nichols sought to create jointness was through professional military education, Arch Barrett again convinced me to get involved. The following year, I was appointed as chairman of a panel on professional military education. We investigated all of the military war colleges, including the Army War College in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, the Naval War College in Newport, Rhode Island, and the Air War College at Maxwell Air Force Base in Alabama. We held twenty-eight hearings, received



Barry Goldwater served five terms in the U.S. Senate, 1953-1965 and 1969-1987. [George W. Parker, Papers, Western Historical Manuscript Collection-Columbia, MO] testimony from forty-eight witnesses, and interviewed over one hundred retired and active duty personnel. As a result, we developed a number of recommendations, the most important of which being that we needed to re-establish rigor in all of the war colleges. This renewed emphasis on professional military education, including the instruction of history, became essential to career advancement in the military.

The study of military history enables professional warriors to learn by the experience of those who have gone before. All the great commanders have established links of leadership with past great captains through the study of history. Consider the words of

- Admiral Alfred Thayer Mahan, the father of naval strategy and of the Naval War College: "The study of military history lies at the foundation of all sound military conclusions and practice."

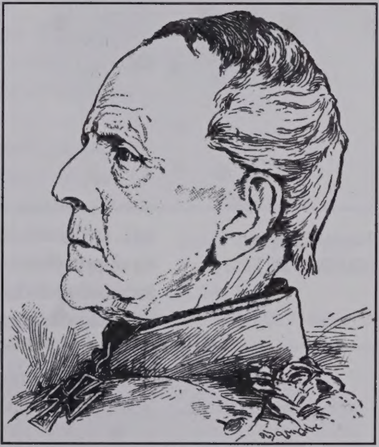
- Helmuth von Moltke, "the Elder": "[History is] the most effective means of teaching war during peace."

- Napoleon: "The science of strategy is only to be acquired by experience and by studying the campaigns of the great captains. Gustavus Adolphus, Turenne, and Frederick, as well as Alexander, Hannibal, and Caesar, have all acted upon the same principles."

When giants of warfare—the likes of Mahan, von Moltke "The Elder," and Napoleon—agree so universally on the importance of history to the military officer, one must take notice. Their message is clear. Through the study of history, military officers can gain experience in the art of war, even in the absence of fighting. Knowledge of the best and the worst practices of the military arts is essential for combat victories.

Many of our military schools and our military leaders have reading lists. In that spirit, I decided to put together my own National Security Book List a couple of years ago, which I am happy to share on my official Web site at www.house.gov/skelton/natsec_booklist.html. My National Security Book List is a compilation of books that I recommend as required reading to all officers of the armed forces, to members of Congress, and to those interested in national security issues.

Through the years, I have benefited enormously by seeking out books recommended by others who share my interest in history and military affairs. The fifty books I have chosen cover the topics of leadership, character, and military art. The subject matter ranges from ancient to modern warfare, although a large number of my recommendations focus on the Civil War and World War II.

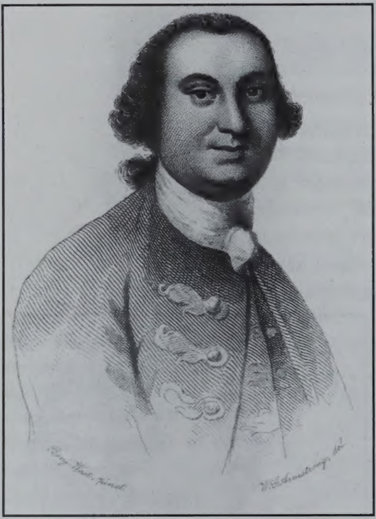


Helmuth Von Moltke "the Elder," a renowned nineteenth-century German field marshal, wrote works dealing with military theory.
[SHSMO 027141]

By necessity, some excellent works were omitted—such as Winston Churchill's outstanding six-volume history of World War II, but the list is comprehensive and covers each branch of the U.S. military. If one undertakes to read the entire list, I expect it would be about a ten-year project; however, familiarity with this material should be invaluable to any officer preparing to attend a war college.

Through history, the whispers of our forefathers are brought to life. They tell the tales of great nations—how they rose and why they fell. They share the lessons they learned in combat at great expense, often with their very lives. They whisper the secrets of war, from the painful, gut-wrenching tactical decisions of commanders ordering men into harm's way, to the less frenetic and more rarefied analysis of grand strategy. They tell about leadership, the value of inspiration and courage, and warn of the follies of recklessness or excessive caution.

A student of military history can accumulate over three thousand years of fighting experience at the price of time spent reading and analyzing the whispers of warriors past. In the realm of professional military education, it should be our mission to ensure that members of the American military know their history better than anyone else. History does not repeat itself, but it sure rhymes a lot. One of the best examples of a military officer applying the lessons of history also happens to be one of my favorites.



Henry Bouquet
[SHSMO 027151]

In 1763, during Pontiac's Rebellion, Colonel Henry Bouquet, a Swiss mercenary in charge of British Highlanders and some American volunteers, was en route to Fort Pitt to deliver supplies because there was an Indian rebellion taking place. They were ambushed at a place called Bushy Run. Surrounded, some sixty of Colonel Bouquet's troops were killed. The Indians did not fight at night, so the colonel knew they would attack the next morning.

Whether he was just innately bright—we know that Colonel Bouquet spoke six languages and spent time at The Hague studying military science, mathematics, and other subjects—but probably because he had read Caesar's *Commentaries* and other classics, he devised a plan that was very similar to the Carthaginian general Hannibal's actions at the Battle of Cannae, allowing part of his perimeter to immediately cave in and ambush the Indians from each side, winning the battle and being able to finish his mission to Fort Pitt. The Indians were thoroughly defeated and abandoned that area of the American colony.

One of the benefits of having historical reference points is that we can observe and learn from the ways our predecessors adapted to a changing world. Over the last two centuries, warfare has experienced a series of transitions, moving from the agrarian age, to the machine age, and most recently to the information age. These transitions have presented challenges as leaders sought to cope with new technologies and the increasing lethality of weapons used. But one thing is certain—those who fail to adapt to change are inevitably left behind.

I recently had the occasion to walk the battlefields at Gettysburg. I had done that several times before, but this time I was accompanied by Major General Robert Scales, the former commandant of the Army War College. Bob is a great American and a master historian, and this is what he told me: On the afternoon of July 3, 1863, as broken units and bleeding men streamed past General Robert E. Lee during their retreat back across the bloody field now known as Pickett's Charge, he greeted them solemnly. "I'm sorry," he said. "It is my fault."

In contrast, two days earlier, on July 1, Federal troops were retreating back through Gettysburg toward Cemetery Ridge. A Confederate victory seemed certain. The next day, General James Longstreet, commanding one of Lee's corps, argued that they should use the superior mobility of Lee's army to maneuver between the Union forces and their supply lines. Longstreet reasoned that an attack on the rail and telegraph lines to the north would cut off the Union forces' supply lines and communications links and force the Union to abandon its position and attack Lee across open ground.

But Lee was not persuaded. Instead, he ordered Longstreet to make a frontal attack against the Union left and to take the heights at Little Roundtop. That decision cost Lee a third of his force. Unable to grasp the significance of what had just happened, Lee again ordered a frontal attack the next day, this time on the Union center. The results of Pickett's Charge are well known.

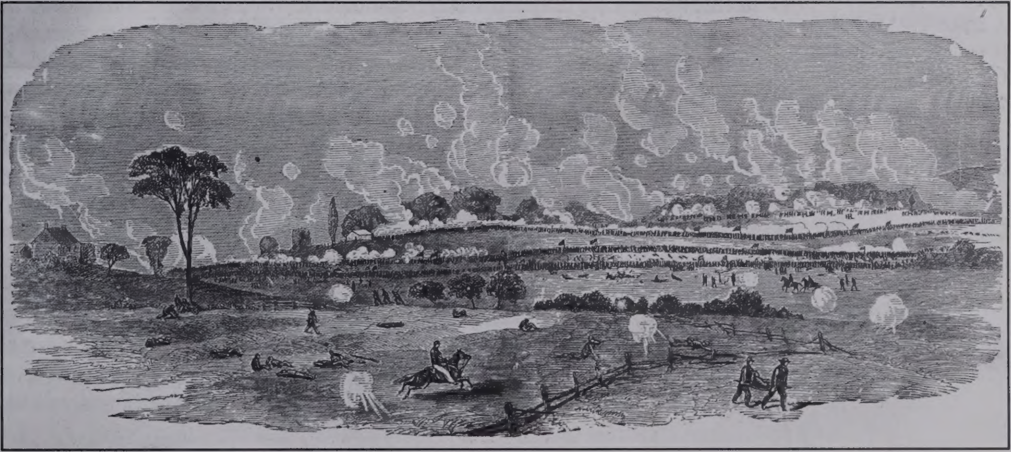
So, how is it possible that Lee, arguably the greatest general in the history of the United States, found himself on July 3 looking into the eyes of his defeated soldiers when victory had seemed so certain just two days before? Quite simply, Lee stood astride a transitional period, as warfare moved out of the agrarian age and into the machine age. New technologies such as the rifled musket, the train, and the telegraph were quickly changing the science of warfare, and Lee was unable to update his understanding of the art of warfare as rapidly.

Today, we stand astride a similar transitional period, as the machine age moves into the information age. New technologies are increasing our military capability almost daily. But new technologies are also empowering real and potential adversaries in unpredictable ways. There has been an exponential increase in the complexity of the modern battlefield. To that we must add the dimension of human interactions, with people coming together in new ways as information technologies enable new forms of dynamic social, political, and economic interactions. For many, this is a welcome change that holds great promise. But for some, this change represents something to fear.

The challenges before us place an enormous intellectual demand upon our military professionals. Their understanding of the art of war today is pretty good. Tomorrow it must be even better. Generally speaking, the language the services use to describe the requirement for high-quality people recognizes the need for this sort of change. I hear a lot about the importance of qualities such as vision, innovation, agility, adaptability, creativity, wisdom, as our soldiers adapt to the pace and lethality of the twenty-first century battlefield.

I see an enormous effort on the part of all the services to pursue new information age technologies as a means to further the science of warfare, and that is important. We need to ensure that our air force can establish and maintain global air dominance. Our navy needs additional ships to control the seas and patrol the littorals. The army is proceeding with the development of the Future Combat System.

But in our urgency to adopt technological transformation, I fear we are neglecting the human side of the equation. We are devoting enormous amounts of

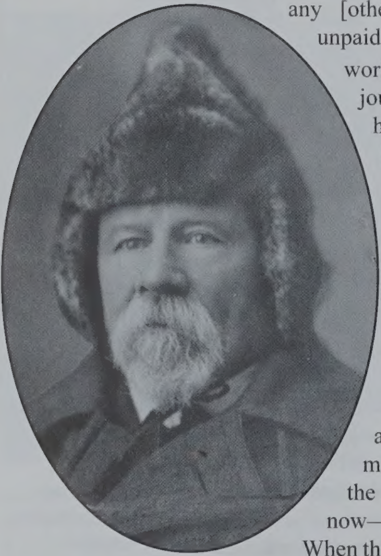


Battle of Gettysburg, Pickett's Charge, July 3, 1863
[SHSMO 027166]

The Father of Southeast Missouri:
Louis Houck and the Coming of the Railroad

JOEL P. RHODES*

"Southeast Missouri stands as a monument to the vision of Louis Houck—a dream realized," lauded a Federal Writers' Project historian. Considering Houck "The Father of Southeast Missouri," the biographer concluded that "more than any [other] one man, the alluvial valley of Southeast Missouri owes an unpaid debt of gratitude [to Houck] for the place it holds in the civilized world today."[1] Known for his contributions to the region as a lawyer, journalist, entrepreneur, developer, regent, philanthropist, and historian, Houck earned these generous accolades primarily for building a provincial railroad empire. From 1880 to 1920, the self-taught railroader constructed roughly five hundred miles of track over and through the wilderness of small lakes, marshes, and wetlands covering "Swampeast Missouri." These "Houck lines," as his railroad networks came to be known, and the accompanying industrial revolution helped transform Cape Girardeau and southeast Missouri, ushering in a period of pronounced commercial, physical, and social development.



Louis Houck, ca. 1880
[Courtesy J. A. and Jeanette Juden]

Houck's remarkable career as a railroad man began with an unremarkable fifteen miles of track laid between Cape Girardeau and Delta, Missouri, in 1880. A product of the state's railroad mania in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the origins of the Houck lines are an entertaining, almost Algeresque, story that is now—like Houck himself—part of the folklore of southeast Missouri. When this son of German and Swiss immigrants arrived in Cape Girardeau from his native Illinois by way of St. Louis in 1869, the town was languishing: an isolated, stagnant, and economically depressed little river town clinging to the Mississippi. The hardships and uncertainty of war had reversed the Cape's antebellum fortunes and eroded its historical position as the commercial heart of southeast Missouri. Guerrilla warfare and military service had robbed the region of a significant portion of its population, retarding commercial and agricultural development while a scarcity of hard money choked economic initiative. Only slowly, haltingly, did the labor force and capital return. Years of Union occupation had also taken a toll on Cape Girardeau, giving it a grave, almost ignominious, character. Travelers to this isolated area commented on the "southern" qualities of the people: unhurried, unpretentious, difficult to impress, self-assured to a fault, fiscally conservative, but not particularly industrious. In addition, riverboat trade, around which life on the Mississippi revolved, had never fully recovered from the disruption of war. While the river still connected Cape Girardeau to the larger world, the golden age of the steamboats was passing and the economic benefits of river trade diminishing with the coming of the railroads.[2] Each year the newly constructed St. Louis and Iron Mountain Railroad to the west and the Cairo and Fulton Railroad to the south lured away countless tons of shipping from the town's increasingly idle wharf.

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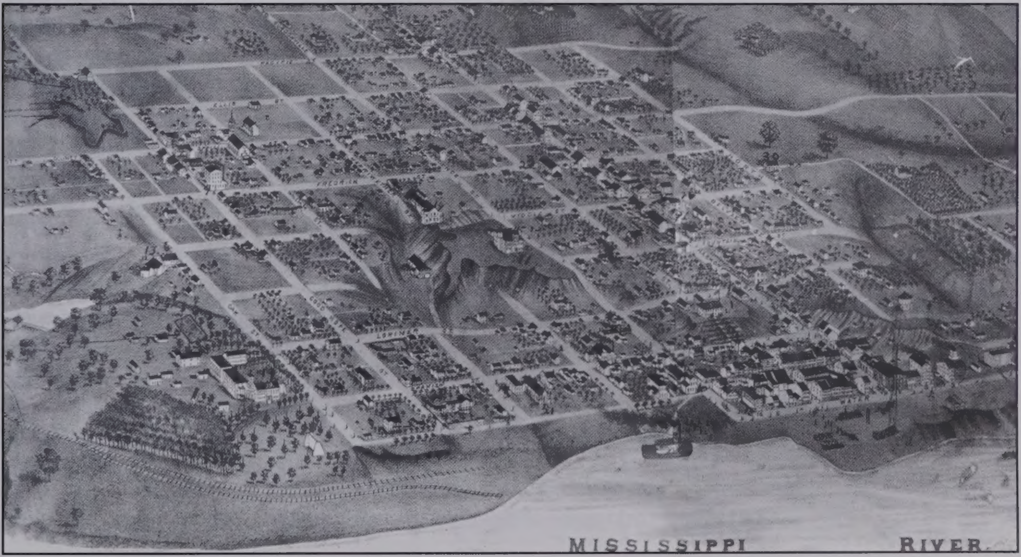
Those same railroads offered the only real hope of recovery, and like many Missouri towns in the late 1860s and early 1870s, Cape Girardeau rushed headlong to embrace the iron horse. The citizens of Cape Girardeau had let previous opportunities to build a railroad pass them by. According to Houck, already one of the town's most consistent and outspoken boosters, "While the northern portion of the State for years has been pushing ahead improvements of this character, Southeast Missouri slept the sleep of Rip Van Winkle."[3] But in this era of railroad mania, when "the whole state breathed and ate railroads," the town became intoxicated by the promise of attracting population, capital, and industry and of increased land values.[4] Promoters came forward with an ambitious plan to build a line from Cape Girardeau toward Arkansas, feeding into the St. Louis and Iron Mountain at a connection in Delta, just fifteen miles to the southwest. One of the state's trunk lines, which radiated across Missouri from St. Louis toward neighboring Kansas, Arkansas, and Iowa, the St. Louis and Iron Mountain linked the iron ore deposits at Pilot Knob to a central rail hub on the Mississippi. By building a feeder line to the Iron Mountain road at Delta, local businessmen and farmers would conceivably be integrated into the national market economy via St. Louis. In 1869 entrepreneurs unassociated with Houck chartered the Cape Girardeau and State Line Railroad for that purpose.[5]

Financing the new railroad proved difficult. Private capital alone rarely underwrote such risky ventures, and out-of-state investors never materialized. The Cape Girardeau and State Line Railroad needed public support. But by 1869, Missouri law prohibited state aid to railroads after that generous, but flawed, policy



Bird's-eye view of Cape Girardeau, ca. 1880 [SHSMO 027084] had cost taxpayers over $25 million during the corrupt and mismanaged development of the trunk lines in the 1850s and 1860s. That left local subsidization—a popular idea during the early 1870s when fifty or so small feeder lines were being built across outstate Missouri to connect regions not yet served by the trunks. In pitching their proposals to local governments, sanguine railroad promoters reasoned that local governments and taxpayers should finance the roads, which were generally locally owned and operated and benefited a specific local market. Many Missouri communities, faced with economic life or death, agreed.

True to their political roots, which ran back to Andrew Jackson and Thomas Hart Benton, a handful of Cape Girardeau residents urged caution, questioning whether the town could realistically expect to finance a railroad in the midst of such economic doldrums. Some pointed out that other overly optimistic Missouri towns had recklessly financed unscrupulous or incompetent railroad developers who never completed their work. Even in this era of Republican political domination in Missouri, Cape Girardeau remained a conservative Democratic town that preferred its government small and taxes low. Yet, in their unbridled enthusiasm to get a railroad, taxpayers in Cape Girardeau and Cape Girardeau Township overcame caution and tradition, overwhelmingly voting in 1869 to subscribe $300,000 in bonds to the Cape Girardeau and State Line Railroad.[6]

Construction began in December 1869 to vigorous fanfare. Over the next three years, crews surveyed and graded almost forty miles of the line running southwest from Cape Girardeau through Delta toward the Arkansas state line. Cutting a railroad through the inhospitable swamps proved slow and expensive, and even though the town issued the bonds incrementally in exchange for stock, the initial $300,000 ran out. Undaunted, the Cape Girardeau and State Line contracted with the Illinois, Missouri, and Texas Railroad, which issued an additional $1,000,000 in bonds of its own to complete the road. By 1872 developers had erected trestles, purchased a locomotive, and laid nearly two miles of track extending from Cape Girardeau.[7] Construction then abruptly halted.

The Panic of 1873, part of the national boom and bust cycles of the late nineteenth century, further frustrated Cape Girardeau's commercial recovery and bankrupted the Cape Girardeau and State Line Railroad and the Illinois, Missouri, and Texas. In the wake of the depression, the railroad sold the locomotive, and thick vegetation eventually reclaimed the roadbed, and ties rotted, rails rusted, and trestles fell down along the route. Disillusioned and angry taxpayers, saddled with $300,000 in debt and no railroad, refused to pay for services not rendered and defaulted on the bonds. Across Missouri, economic hard times brought overextended towns like Cape Girardeau back to this reality: in its gamble to secure a railroad, unrealistic expectations had made a bad situation worse. "All that the people of the city and township had to show for this railroad enterprise and the bonds issued was a great railroad debt made manifest by a great tax," Louis Houck lamented. "The railroad construction era had passed, the dream was over."[8]

Even without a vested interest in the Cape Girardeau and State Line as such, the town's continued decline, now hastened by the railroad's collapse, especially troubled Houck. Since arriving in the town, he had carefully established a flourishing legal practice, gaining a local reputation as a fine lawyer. Besides a cunning legal mind, Houck possessed, for better or worse, all the traits of a politician or salesman. A skilled speaker and writer, though he spoke with a thick German accent, he could be charming, persuasive in his arguments, and remarkably resourceful, constantly scheming and working the angles of every available deal. Although small in stature, Houck came from sturdy German stock and characteristically had, in the words of a friend, "indefatigable industry."[9] His ambition and unflagging drive were already well established by the time the twenty-nine-year-old came to Cape Girardeau to practice law, having previously edited a German-language newspaper, published a legal text, served as assistant U.S. district attorney, and flirted with a political career. But perhaps more than anything, he had a natural gift for self-promotion.

Houck tirelessly extolled the virtues of Cape Girardeau and southeast Missouri's untapped economic and cultural potential. He developed a sincere affinity for the region's communities, geography, and history while riding the circuit courts in Commerce, Bloomfield, Marble Hill, Clarkton, Kennett, Charleston, and New Madrid during the 1870s. Traveling by horseback, hack, and packet boat, Houck also came to know some of the most prominent and well-connected lawyers in southeast Missouri, including General Solomon G. Kitchen, Major H. H. Bedford, James H. Vail, and James W. Owens. Around dinner tables and fireplaces in the homes and roadhouses where they boarded, Houck experienced something of a revelation in Bootheel development. As these men talked about their involvement in the Cairo and Fulton Railroad, the availability of thousands of acres of public swampland for virtually nothing, and the willingness of some southeast Missouri counties to exchange swamplands for railroad or reclamation projects, he grasped the notion that private interest and public good could be mutually supportive and complementary—and highly lucrative.[10] For the rest of his life, Houck's genius lay in his ability to convince southeast Missourians that the public fortunes of the region were intimately tied to his own and that, as one newspaper faithfully proclaimed, "A victory for Louis Houck, is a victory for southeast Missouri."[11]

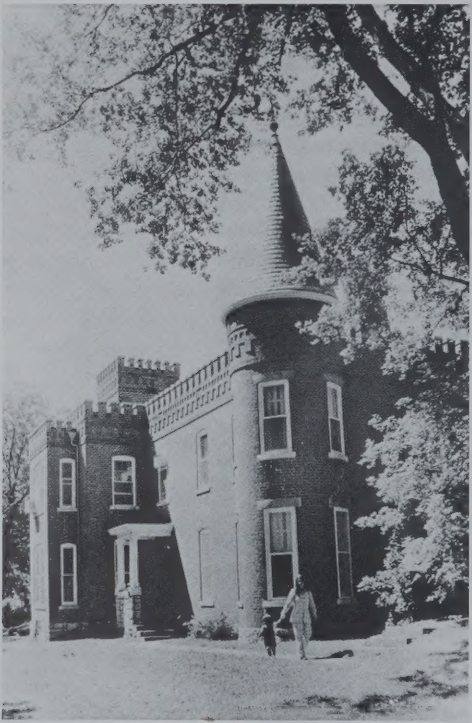
In late 1872, Houck, the regional promoter, merged with Houck, the personal promoter, when he married Mary Hunter Giboney, the daughter of two of the wealthiest and largest landowning families in southeast Missouri. Raised in gentility on the Giboney estate, Elmwood, a replica of the family's ancestral Scottish castle set on a sprawling 1,200-acre Spanish land grant obtained in the 1790s, Mary exemplified the ideals of proud southern womanhood common among the planter class in the region—a tightly laced picture of Christian virtue and Confederate honor. Although privileged, like earlier Hunter and Giboney women, she was tough and intelligent with an air of authority. The only one of nine children who survived to adulthood, Mary attended Christian College in Columbia, Missouri, and Emma Willard College in Troy, New York, during the Civil War. Upon her return to Elmwood, she served as the estate's administrator and manager, taking care of her widowed elderly father, Andrew, and helping him oversee the family's vast real estate holdings of 3,600 acres in southeast Missouri and southern Illinois.[12]

Houck met Mary shortly after moving to Cape Girardeau and began courting her in the fall of 1869. Frequently visiting Elmwood with gifts of flowers and books, he often took Mary, known as Molly to friends and family, on long walks through the estate. In the summer they picked berries, and in the winter they skated on the frozen ponds. Sharing a mutual affinity for fine horses, the two rode along the high ground above the marshland and took buggy rides into Cape Girardeau some six miles away, especially during the fall at fair time. Mary disappointed other suitors, and probably her father, when she announced her intention to marry Houck, a northerner. After

Mary Houck
[SHSMO 011171]

their Christmas Day wedding in 1872, Houck moved into Elmwood, and two years later, Andrew Giboney passed away, leaving the entire estate to his daughter, though custom and law dictated that his son-in-law be the executor.[13]

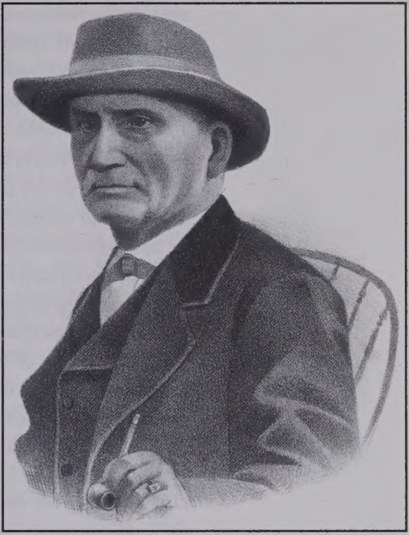
Houck married well and, it might appear, opportunistically, but he seems to have taken a typically Victorian male view of marriage. Genuinely affectionate and romantic toward his wife, he valued Mary's intellect and honesty and delighted in their ability to share ideas about current events, politics, literature, theater, history, botany, and matters of business. Mary appears to have been more southern in her outlook. Not nearly as eager to wed, she probably saw the union as more of a practical consideration for political or economic gain and then stoically devoted herself to it. She assumed a more active role in advising and counseling her husband on financial affairs than most northern Victorian wives. In essence, the couple formed a partnership, often of a business nature. And like any good partners, they complemented each other well: he supplied the vision, and she supplied the resources. Mary solidified Louis's maturing business philosophy, for he now had a vested interest in promoting increased property values—in particular, ventures that improved transportation.[14]



In ca. 1808 the Giboney family began the construction of Elmwood, which was designed to replicate a Scottish castle.
[St. Louis Globe-Democrat Archives of the St. Louis Mercantile Library at the University of Missouri-St. Louis]

Houck had steadfastly supported the railroad subscription in 1869 and never lost faith in railroad development as the key to the economic future of southeast Missouri and Cape Girardeau. He believed railroads could revitalize the town, transforming it from an economic backwater into a veritable "Pittsburgh of the West."[15] In fact, he deliberated about getting involved in railroading for most of the 1870s. Shortly after his marriage, Louis took a more keen interest in the Cape Girardeau and State Line Railroad Company, working first as their legal counsel to untangle the messy financial situation and later to attract the outside capital thought necessary to get the project back on track. Before going bankrupt, the Illinois, Missouri, and Texas Railroad, the company contracted to build Cape Girardeau's original line, had not only raised money through bonds but had also taken out a $1,500,000 mortgage on the property of the Cape Girardeau and State Line Railroad. Instead of investing that money in the construction project, the company absorbed it, dividing it among the promoters and leaving the Cape Girardeau and State Line Railroad, and ultimately the town, liable. In 1875, P. R. Van Frank, president of the Cape Girardeau and State Line, retained Houck on a contingency fee to file a suit clearing the railroad's property from the mortgage. It took three years of legal wrangling before Houck successfully released the Cape Girardeau and State Line Railroad. By that time over five years had passed since the collapse of the project, and potential investors considered the forty miles of overgrown roadbed and two miles of rusty track worthless.[16]

Desperate to stimulate interest, the Cape Girardeau and State Line offered all its franchises and the forty miles of graded roadbed to any contractor willing to build a fifteen-mile line to connect with the Iron Mountain. Finding no takers outside the region, Houck tried to interest local investors, but as he later recalled, "The idea that the citizens of Cape Girardeau themselves could build a railroad, even if only fifteen miles long, with a roadbed already graded, after $300,000 had been spent without securing a railroad, to most people seemed chimerical."[17] Houck puzzled over the lack of entrepreneurial spirit and sense of urgency in his fellow southeast Missourians. "No one seemed to value what was being offered nor what the work had cost the people." Surely others had the vision, as he did, to see the untold potential of the region. Just fifteen miles of track separated southeast Missouri, and Houck, from tapping into the great economic, transportation, and communication revolution taking root across the nation. Slowly the lawyer "began to cogitate and to dream a dream": if someone needed to step up and build the road, why not him?[18]



Andrew Giboney's family arrived in southeast Missouri from Virginia before 1797.
[SHSMO 96-0024]

Houck's railroad epiphany in the spring of 1880 remains a central part of the region's folklore: despite personally having relatively little investment capital, supplies, or knowledge of railroading, at forty years of age, the tenacious German left his established law practice, read some books on railroading, and started laying track out of a sense of enlightened commitment to southeast Missouri. Perhaps what makes this such an enduring and charming adventure story is that there is an element of truth to it. Without question, Houck was a product of this celebrated age of "economic individualism," when self-taught men with vision, natural genius, and entrepreneurial instincts bent modern technology to their will, building the nation while rising to great wealth and social position. What historian Alan Trachtenberg called the "practical Yankee inventor-entrepreneur," embodied by men such as Thomas Edison, held out proof that despite seemingly insurmountable challenges, the old republican principles of rugged individualism still applied to the free market of modern industry. Even in Houck's home state, bankers, farmers, businessmen, and lawyers were routinely stepping forward with bold plans to start a railroad.[19] These popular images, already well established in American culture by 1880, probably inspired Houck, along with great deeds, battles, and conquests. Close friends knew him to be a romantic with the soul of a scholar: a historian. Since childhood, Louis Napoleon Houck, named for the French emperor, had lost himself in a heroic world of kings and courts, warriors, statesmen, philosophers, presidents, and frontiersmen where great men rose to do great things.[20] These inspirational musings lent an almost innocent or accidental quality to Houck's beginnings in the railroad business, and this perception was later reinforced by how wholly he underestimated the increasingly sophisticated, mechanized, and systematic industry he was about to enter, especially its construction.

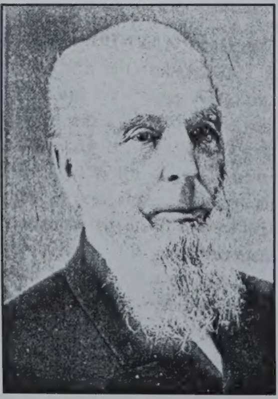
Although a dreamer, Houck was not exactly a Pollyanna; he was a capitalist—a shrewd, sensible, and, at times, uncompromising businessman—so when he cogitated, he did so over pragmatic concerns. He later confirmed, "Public opinion, to a certain extent, and my own inclinations, being a large property holder in that territory, compelled me to take hold of that enterprise in order to secure and afford our town its benefits as well as develop the material resources of that section."[21] Despite the public-spirited rhetoric, however, Houck clearly wanted to create a booming economic situation that would work to his advantage. The material resources he spoke of developing were primarily timber. At the time, cypress and other hardwoods covered over 90 percent of southeast Missouri, making the land unsuitable for agriculture but an excellent source of lumber. Within a generation, huge national interests like Gideon-Anderson, C. A. Boynton, McCormick and Deering, and Himmelberger and Harrison operated some of the nation's largest sawmills in the Bootheel. Like local stave and railroad tie giants William Brown and T. J. Moss, the companies needed rail access out of the bayous, and Houck was confident he could lure them away from the St. Louis and Iron Mountain.[22]

Moreover, in examining Houck's subsequent railroad career—especially his myopic and suspect construction practices and lengthy bouts of litigation—it seems he based much of his decision to enter railroading on the fact that, like the region, he was cash poor and land rich. Railroading, with all its inherent risks, afforded ways to accentuate the latter while ameliorating the former. Among these considerations was the acquisition of additional land. The 1875 Missouri Constitution extended the ban on state funding of railroads to include counties and municipalities due to the fallout from this risky and discredited source of public support. Yet, Houck's contemporaries on the court circuit convinced him that legal loopholes existed whereby southeast Missouri counties could exchange vast tracts of public swampland, given to them by the state to aid in their development, for private railroad construction. The trick was coupling the railroad work with levee building and drainage and then defending the entire project as land reclamation in court—a clever ploy Houck later tried, unsuccessfully, in both Wayne and Pemiscot Counties.[23] While the promise of land must have been attractive, the most intriguing, and ultimately decisive, aspect of railroading to Houck may have been the potential sale of a small feeder line to a larger system. By the time of his deliberations in 1880, he discerned a trend across Missouri; larger railroads such as Jay Gould's Missouri Pacific were buying up numerous local lines and consolidating them into a small number of extensive railroad networks. With lucrative stave factories, tie companies, and sawmills along his lines, big competitors were bound to take notice, and with a little salesmanship and legal maneuvering, a small-time railroader, regardless of the physical condition of his property, could realize huge profits with relatively little investment of time or money.[24]

Houck weighed these considerations from both the standpoint of public good and private interest before pitching the idea to his wife. Understandably "much surprised" by the scheme initially, Mary contemplated as her husband, pacing the library of Elmwood much as he did in the courtroom, presented his case. Houck's optimism and gift of promotion eventually convinced her, and she threw her support—and perhaps more importantly, her family's resources—behind him.[25]

In what became the hallmark of his railroading career, Houck made up for his lack of practical railroad experience from the onset by playing to his strengths in promotion, journalism, and the law. He first approached his friend Robert Sturdivant, a local banker, with a proposal that the two work as partners. Although Sturdivant begged off, citing his age, he agreed to help arrange a $20,000 loan to start the project. Houck then wrote to several newspapers in the region and in St. Louis and to the *New York Railroad Gazette*, attempting to raise capital while a committee of boosters, organized by himself and Sturdivant, went door to door in Cape Girardeau wringing pledges of financial support from skeptical businessmen.[26] In July 1880, with much of the necessary capital in place, Houck approached the firm of J. and S. Albert, who held the mortgages on the holdings of the defunct Cape Girardeau and State Line Railroad Company, with a business proposition: if Houck could complete the remaining fifteen miles of track

A native of Virginia, Robert Sturdivant came to Cape Girardeau in 1835. He became associated with the banking business in 1857. [SHSMO 027083]



to connect Cape Girardeau to the Iron Mountain line at Delta, he would get clear title to the railroad's properties after paying a nominal $6,000 for the forty miles of graded roadbed. The catch—all work had to be completed by January 1, 1881, which was less than five months away.

To Houck's astonishment and disgust, once word of his intentions became public, other would-be railroaders complicated matters by coming forward to offer their own imaginative proposals. One particularly loathsome rival, at least in the eyes of the devoutly temperate Houck, offered to build the railroad in exchange for J. and S. Albert's help in raising one thousand barrels of Monongahela whiskey from a steamboat sunk somewhere between Osceola, Mississippi, and Memphis, Tennessee. Several tense days followed, made more anxious by Houck's suspicion that the senior members of the firm "did not despise good whiskey," as J. and S. Albert evaluated their options, but ultimately the deal was struck and the details ironed out.[27]

In early August, Houck took over as president and director of the newly incorporated Cape Girardeau Railway Company and set about upholding his end of the bargain. His sanguinity seemed warranted. The previous railroad had completed some of the most labor-intensive work, clearing and grading the road, eight years before. Houck quickly reached what he thought were favorable agreements with St. Louis and Iron Mountain Railroad officials. From Russell Allen, vice president of the line, Houck purchased about one thousand tons of the relaying rails and angle plates needed for construction and received a written promise that he would receive 25 percent of the gross earnings on all new business his road sent the Iron Mountain. He also worked out a deal with William Kerrigan, the division superintendent of the Iron Mountain, to locate a Y-type connection to their track at Delta for him to tie into. Tie hackers hired along the route would supply the other main ingredients. From everything he was reading in recently purchased railroading manuals, such as the *Baldwin Locomotive Works Illustrated Catalogue of Locomotives*, and hearing from railroading men, his crews should be able to lay tracks and ties at a rate of about one mile per day. Once hammers began swinging, five months would be more than enough time to lay track from Delta to Cape Girardeau. No wonder the proud Houck felt taken aback when, after trying his last case, his incredulous legal associates "freely predicted" he would be back to work in his law office soon enough.[28]

Within days, Houck received the first of many hard lessons in his new vocation. Against the advice of the Iron Mountain Railroad, he had determined to follow the existing roadbed, locating the crossing junction in Delta and beginning construction there, then working his way east toward Cape Girardeau. The Iron Mountain preferred to place Houck's junction with their line at Allenville, roughly two miles north of Delta on higher ground. Allenville, they argued, would give the new road a downgrade run to Cape Girardeau. Also, in the eight years since the route to low-lying Delta had been graded, the road had grown into what the Iron Mountain's chief engineer derisively called, in the local vernacular, "nigger wool"—an almost impenetrable jungle of briars, brush, and trees. After walking from Allenville to Delta in the sweltering heat to inspect the route, Houck hacked his way through and struggled to find where his line would tie into the Iron Mountain. The roadbed, originally graded to one hundred feet wide, had oak and gum trees eight to twelve inches in diameter nearly covering "the dump." The telegraph line hung in disrepair, and hunters had burned large holes in the floor of the long-abandoned little frame depot almost completely hidden by wilderness.[29]

Hiring local African Americans to hack through the dense brush proved easier than finding and keeping labor willing to cut ties and lay track for such an uncertain venture. With the failure of the first railroad fresh in their minds, the fifteen or so laborers whom Houck managed to round up at any given time and described as being "of every character" often refused to work until he personally guaranteed their wages. "Of course," he recalled about his crews, "it was taken for granted that this railroad enterprise would speedily end in my insolvency and bankruptcy." As a result, he bridled at what he considered his employees' "unreasonable demands for money at unreasonable times."[30] Never known for prompt payment and perpetually strapped for cash, Houck faced frequent work stoppages and confrontations due to late compensation. This general predicament contributed to a humorous folktale, of which several versions developed over the years. In the popular story, Houck, who was nearsighted and often wore glasses, was inspecting some recently laid track when he stepped on a branch that sprang up behind him and tapped him on shoulder. The railroader is said to have wheeled around instinctively and said, "Yes, yes, Tom, I'll have the money for you tomorrow." But the lack of cash could also be quite serious. After one disgruntled employee threw a ten-pound weight at Houck's head during a particularly heated exchange in which he refused to pay late wages until "all facts could be more fully ascertained," the railroad president began carrying a gun when venturing alone in rural areas.[31]

Even when wages were paid on time, Houck dealt with other labor headaches. Given the soggy and isolated nature of the area, the small crew, drawn mostly from the hill country to the north, at first boarded with families at Allenville, running a handcar down the Iron Mountain to Delta and then to their work. As construction progressed east past the Dutchtown road, most of the crew, including Houck, stayed at the Philo Smith farm about ten miles west of Cape Girardeau, the only substantial residence along the line. The remainder stayed at a rustic little cabin below the Dutchtown road that the men sardonically called "The Southern Hotel." All these accommodations made it difficult to get the crew to and from the work site in a timely manner. As summer turned to fall, shorter days were accompanied by increasingly inclement weather, which further whittled away at productivity and encouraged frequent absenteeism.

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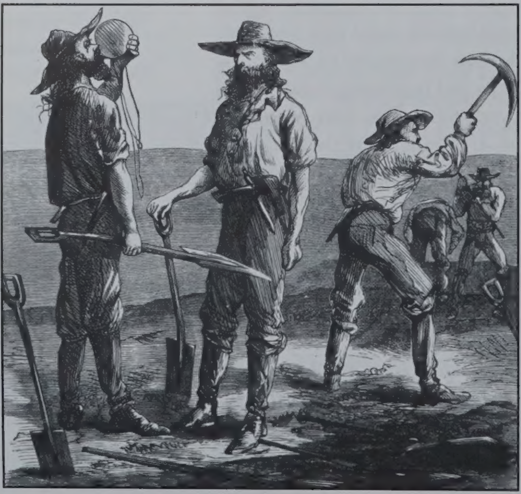
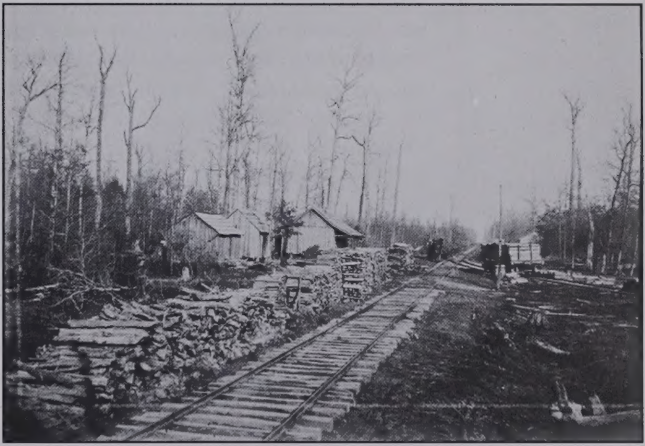


Many of Houck's most acute problems, labor and otherwise, stemmed primarily from his lack of experience and the fact that limited time and capital compelled him to cut costs. Given his professed ignorance about the most basic principles of railroading, it was critical that he take time to surround himself with some seasoned "railroad men." Yet in the interest of expediency and parsimony, he hired men as engineers and foremen who lied about their experience and, once in the field, proved as novice as he. As a result, Houck tolerated several amateurish and maddening mistakes that fall. The St. Louis and Iron Mountain, a competitor after all, took advantage of the greenhorn railroader almost immediately. Contracted to supply one thousand tons of suitable rails by mid-August, the Iron Mountain disingenuously shipped him scrap and worn-out rails, some cut to no more than six feet long and others twisted and battered.

Accepting the woefully inferior rails under protest, Houck exacerbated matters by instructing his crew to use between one-half and one-fourth the standard number of ties, spacing them four to five feet apart in some spots, and to fasten the rails to them using half angle plates and only one bolt. Over this unsightly line rolled three secondhand flatcars, a homemade caboose prone to derailing, and a used locomotive named for Andrew Giboney that, perhaps due to a sprung axle, would stay on the tracks only when operated in reverse.[32]

Autumn passed quickly, with only a couple of miles of precarious track to show for it. Working alongside his crew six days a week, Houck's role in the back-breaking process became considerably more hands-on than he had envisioned, personally "bolting rails, carrying spikes and angle plates, and spreading and bossing the spreading of ties." In fact, he remembered "doing everything that I could do."[33] Mary Houck frequently rode out on horseback from nearby Elmwood to inspect the painfully slow progress, especially on Sundays when she could visit with her husband in private. Ahead of the main body of workers, African American men, hired for their skill in cutting and hewing white oak and cypress, gradually repaired rotting trestles. Deer and turkey regularly came onto the dump. Each night, as the crew headed back toward Delta, with limbs and briars scratching those hanging off the sides of the overcrowded handcar, the men heard wolves howling in the woods to the south. Snow and sleet suspended work intermittently throughout October before threatening to stop it altogether in November when a storm, the likes of which had not occurred in years, covered the roadbed with two to three feet of snow. Frozen hands flailed in the snow to uncover buried ties, angle plates, and rails and piece them together, sometimes laying track on top of the drifts. As the snow melted, the swamps rose, miring the crew and equipment in frigid mud.[34]



View of the original Houck line near Delta, ca. 1880
[Courtesy of J. A. and Jeanette Juden]

By December, Houck began taking stock of his increasingly dire straits. "We had laid four miles of track in four months, from August 4 to December 4," he figured, confounded by his initial calculations of one mile per day, "and had twenty-six days to finish laying eight miles more of track."[35] Representatives from J. and S. Albert came to inspect the work more frequently, each time finding it more difficult to conceal their satisfaction that Houck would almost certainly fail and they would retain possession of an incomplete, albeit vastly improved, railroad without so much as driving a spike.[36] Additionally, if Houck missed the impending deadline, not only would he not get the railroad, but a clause in the agreement made him personally liable for thousands in loans. For the first time, doubt, anxiety, and despair crept in.

Nothing if not a fighter, Houck bore down, his naive enthusiasm giving way to grim determination. "I commenced to build that railroad and after I began to build it," he later testified, "I was like the man that caught the wolf. I had the road and it was dangerous to let go and dangerous to hold on!"[37] He hired a new superintendent, William Penny, to oversee the work and an experienced railroad mechanic, Dick Smith, to finish rebuilding the necessary trestles and maintain the rolling stock. Handy with tools, Smith had worked as a carpenter for the Illinois Central and impressed Houck with his ability to fix anything from a locomotive to a watch. While Penny's practical knowledge of railroading was not much greater than Houck's, he was chosen for the job because of his intelligence and willingness to learn from his mistakes. Houck also rounded up additional workers, contracting with an "old railroad man" in Marble Hill who sent enough men to enlarge the crew to twenty-five, and kept them on the job seven days a week. More importantly, at Mary's suggestion, he uncharacteristically sweetened the pot. During her usual Sunday visit, the two conferred about raising the crew's collective wage, presently a thrifty ninety dollars per mile. Mary counseled her husband that a properly timed bonus might provide incentive. Agreeing, Houck gathered his weary crew together on December 6 and offered them this proposal: if they could complete the road to the Elm Swag trestle, roughly the midway point of the remaining eight miles, in ten days, he would pay them a one hundred dollar bonus in addition to their wages.[38]

Despite another bitter cold snap that froze the ground at least a foot deep, Mary's idea worked. Morale improved dramatically, with a certain rhythm and sense of urgency finally developing along the line. Riding into camp at the trestle on December 16 with a sack of silver dollars from the Sturdivant Bank—an event undoubtedly staged for maximum effect—Houck distributed the bonus money among the cheering men. Reinvigorated by their progress, the gathering responded with an ambitious proposal of their own: would Houck pay another one hundred dollar bonus if they could lay the remaining four miles into Cape Girardeau by Christmas Day, well ahead of schedule? Though it pained him somewhat, Houck, fearing a loss of momentum, agreed.

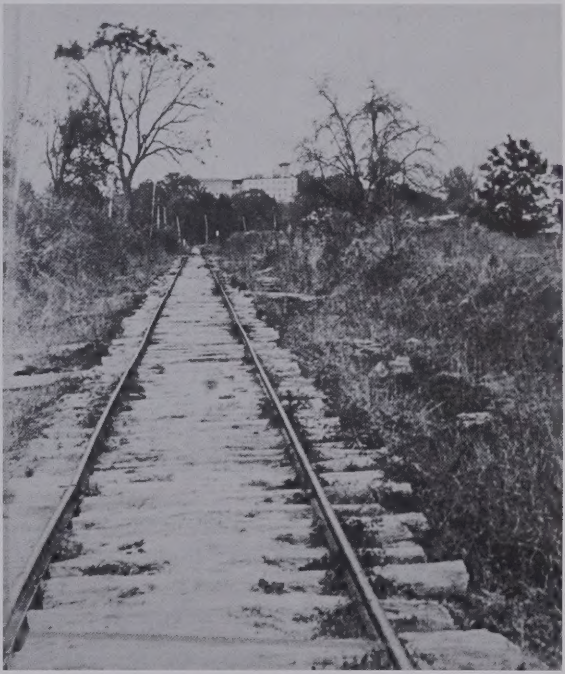
This image of Houck served as the frontispiece for his 1908 History of Missouri, Vol. 1. [SHSMO 011212]

When that deadline proved unrealistic, Louis walked up and down the line telling his men not to waver and that he would still pay the Christmas bonus if they could finish by the end of the year. Further hedging his bets, Houck temporarily solved an acute shortage of useable rails by instructing his men to take up about a half mile of the track laid in Cape Girardeau years before by the old company and begin laying it west from the town to meet his main crew building toward the east. In later years, this bit of improvisation, born out of necessity, took on a life all its own as an account supporting Houck's efficient and frugal German nature. The time-honored version tells of a sneaky Houck—fast running out of rails and time—instructing his frantic crew in the eleventh hour to go back to the beginning of the line in Delta, take up laid track, haul it to the current point of construction, and re-lay it to allow the locomotive to roll into Cape Girardeau by the deadline. This certainly makes for a better story, but upon further review, it is not particularly practical, and as it turns out, not exactly true.[39]

On the bitterly cold afternoon of December 31, 1880, Mary rode out to the rock levee on the outskirts of Cape Girardeau to examine the railroad one last time. After almost five months of backbreaking labor in mean conditions, only a half mile remained between the crew and the connection with the old track, which was now clearly visible across the frozen field. As they reflected on the improbable feat of laying eight miles of track in less than four weeks, Houck allowed himself a rare pause and, in a moment of self-satisfaction, confidently predicted that victory was at hand. Not as certain, Mary reminded him of the date and, out of earshot of the men, cautioned that the lure of Cape Girardeau's saloons might drain his workforce as night approached, not only leaving him short-handed during the final critical hours, but also squandering the enterprise altogether if the men decided not to return on New Year's Day. Having come so far, perhaps it would be best, she suggested, to keep the crew on the job by paying an extra day's wage if they worked through the night.

By the light of fires along the line and the lamp of their lone locomotive, Houck's crew joined the final rails at 11:00 p.m. and rode the *Andrew Giboney* into Cape Girardeau at 2:00 a.m., January 1, 1881, right on schedule. Not given to the flare of railroad promotion, William Penny recalled a rather inauspicious entrance, "finding every light out [and] not even a saloon open so that the men could get a drink of Old Bourbon." Houck, true to his nature, painted the occasion in a slightly different light, remembering instead an unforgettably "cheerful and hospitable reception by the citizens of the town that had been clamoring for a railroad for many years."[40]

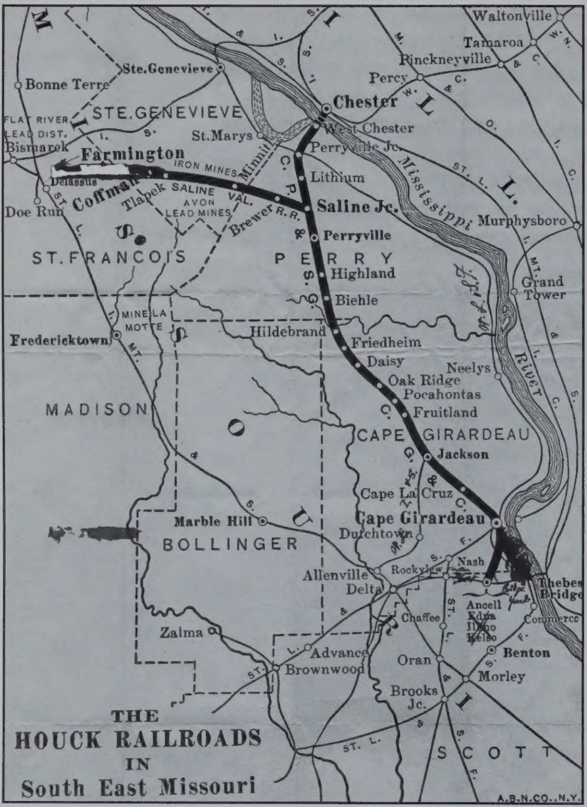
From this modest fifteen miles of track between Cape Girardeau and Delta in 1880, Houck went on to construct some five hundred more miles of track in southeast Missouri by 1920. With the Little River Drainage District, which drained over one million acres of wetlands in the early twentieth century, Houck provided the major impetus for the region's population, agricultural, lumbering, and commercial growth. No town benefited more than Cape Girardeau. As logging and the drainage district turned the Bootheel into one of the most productive agricultural regions of the state, if not the nation, the railroad restored Cape Girardeau as the transportation, distribution, and service hub connecting the entire area to the growing national market. Travelers observed Louis Houck's influence in the changing character of Cape Girardeau: more northern, entrepreneurial, progressive, civic-minded, ambitious, yet still fiscally conservative.[41]



Section of the original fifteen-mile railroad approaching Cape Girardeau from the south, ca. 1880. St. Vincent's Seminary is in the background. [Courtesy J. A. and Jeanette Juden]

Although Houck's railroading spanned another forty years, one can see in the construction of the first line many of the major features that marked his entire career: vision, tenacity, savvy, flexibility, a nearly inexhaustible capacity for hard work, the determination to play to his strengths, and the wisdom of reconciling private interest with the public good. Not always as civic-minded in his business dealings as he was later given credit for, Houck's championing of the common good extended only to the boundaries of his own private gain. Throughout his life, when the two spheres were mutually supportive, Houck moved full steam ahead. But when regional development projects did not benefit him directly, even those as far-sighted as the Little River Drainage District and the good roads movement, he was far less interested and, in fact, often hostile.

Houck usually balanced any discontinuity this caused in the court of public opinion by striving to make art, culture, libraries, and formal education available to all social classes in southeast Missouri, practicing what Andrew Carnegie later articulated as a "Gospel of Wealth."[42] These endeavors, along with the success of the Houck lines in developing the region, helped elevate the promoter to a larger-than-life figure in southeast Missouri, a popular image he carefully crafted and zealously maintained through the courts and in the local press. Waging an almost guerrilla-like war of pesky legal skirmishes with noted robber baron Jay Gould and, later, his son George Gould over possession of his lines, Houck's esteem peaked in the 1890s when he cast himself as a regional David to the Goulds' national Goliath. Curiously, the fact that the physical quality and business practices of Houck's railroads were frequently called into question—owing primarily to his limitations as a railroader, desire for quick profits with limited investment capital, and the region's unfriendly terrain—only served to enhance his status as the Father of Southeast Missouri.


THE
HOUCK RAILROADS
IN
South East Missouri
Ste.Genevieve
Bonne Terre
STE.GENEVIEVE
St.Marys
Flat River
Lead Dist.
Bismarck
Farmington
Doe Run
Coffman
Tlapek
Saline Val.
Avon
Lead Mines
Iron Mines
Brewer R.R.
ST.FRANCOIS
Fredericktown
Mine La Motte
MADISON
Marble Hill
BOLLINGER
Zalma
Chester
West Chester
Perryville Jc.
Lithium
Saline Jc.
Perryville
PERRY
Highland
Biehle
Hildebrand
Friedheim
Daisy
Neelys
Oak Ridge
Pocahontas
Fruitland
CAPE GIRARDEAU
Jackson
Cape La Cruz
Cape Girardeau
Dutchtown
Allenville
Delta
Rockview
Nash
Chaffee
Ancell
Illmo
Kelso
Thebes Bridge
Commerce
Benton
Morley
Advance
Brownwood
Oran
Brooks Jc.
SCOTT
Waltonville
Tamaroa
Pinckneyville
Percy
Murphysboro
Grand Tower
Mississippi River
A.B.N.CO.,N.Y.

[Courtesy Southeast Missouri State University Special Collections]

NOTES

1. *Sikeston Standard*, 6 March 1936.

2. Tom Neumeyer, Frank Nickell, and Joel P. Rhodes, *Historic Cape Girardeau: An Illustrated History* (San Antonio, TX: Historical Publishing Network, 2004), 1, 28, 31. Excerpts used with permission of Historical Publishing Network.

3. *St. Louis Missouri Republican*, 12 August 1869.

4. Edwin L. Lopata, *Local Aid to Railroads in Missouri* (New York: Arno Press, 1981), 63; Louis Houck, *The Story of the Railroad Work of Louis Houck in Southeast Missouri From 1880 to 1920* (Cape Girardeau, MO: Privately printed, n.d.), 1: 6, in possession of C. A. and Jeanette Juden, Cape Girardeau.

5. Lopata, *Local Aid,* 9-25, 85, 142. Reflecting Missourians' initial belief that railroads would supplement river traffic, the state's trunk lines—the Pacific Railroad, the Hannibal and St. Joseph, the North Missouri, the Southwest branch of the Pacific, the St. Louis and Iron Mountain, and the Cairo and Fulton—were built to emanate from St. Louis, the state's central rail hub on the Mississippi, between 1850 and 1866.

6. Ibid., 6, 7, 16, 27-58, 62-63, 85, 129, 142. An 1865 Missouri law required a two-thirds majority vote for local taxpayers to approve a railroad subscription. Voters in the City of Cape Girardeau subscribed $150,000 and those in Cape Girardeau Township subscribed another $150,000 to the Cape Girardeau and State Line Railroad

Company, for a total of $300,000. The general outline of Missouri's railroad history is based on Lawrence O. Christensen and Gary R. Kremer, *A History of Missouri, Volume IV, 1875-1919* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1997); Lopata, *Local Aid*, and John W. Million, *State Aid to Railways in Missouri* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1896).

7. Houck, *Story of the Railroad Work*, 1: 7-9; *Sikeston Standard*, 6 March 1936.

8. Neumeyer, Nickell, and Rhodes, *Historic Cape Girardeau*, 31; Lopata, *Local Aid*, 27-58; Houck, *Story of the Railroad Work*, 1: 8-9.

9. William H. Barnum to Louis Houck, 19 December 1864, in possession of C. A. and Jeanette Juden.

10. Louis Houck, *Some Reminiscences of Louis Houck* (Cape Girardeau, MO: Privately printed, n.d.), 33, 36, 45, 50, in possession of C. A. and Jeanette Juden.

11. *Piedmont Wayne County Journal*, 22 June 1895.

12. Andrew Giboney, Probate Record CP-0990, Cape Girardeau County Archive Center, Jackson; Jeanette Juden, interview with the author, 28 April 2005.

13. When Andrew Giboney passed away in 1874, he left Mary all his real estate holdings, including thirteen lots in Cape Girardeau and 3,632 acres in southeast Missouri and southern Illinois, in addition to a balance of $15,141.84, which the Houcks finally received when the estate was settled in 1877. Andrew Giboney, Probate Record.

14. *Cape Girardeau Southeast Missourian*, 21 December 1944; William T. Doherty Jr., *Louis Houck, Missouri Historian and Entrepreneur* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1960), 73; Houck, *Some Reminiscences*, 25; Juden, interview, 28 April 2005; *History of Southeast Missouri* (Chicago: Goodspeed Publishing, 1888), 273.

15. *St. Louis Missouri Republican*, 2 December 1869; 1 April 1870.

16. Houck, *Story of the Railroad Work*, 1: 10, 11, 14.

17. Ibid., 12, 13.

18. Ibid., 11, 12, 14.

19. Alan Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America: Culture and Society in the Gilded Age* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982), 5, 54, 65, 67, 81. In reality, railroad mania drove many desperate towns to entrust railroading to just about any local person willing to give it a try. Lopata, *Local Aid*, 63. Houck confirmed this naïveté when he later wrote that he probably would not have gotten involved in the railroad business if he had it to do again. Houck, *Story of the Railroad Work*, 1: 14.

20. William H. Barnum to Louis Houck, 27 July 1863, in possession of C. A. and Jeanette Juden.

21. Christensen and Kremer, *A History of Missouri*, 42.

22. Houck, *Story of the Railroad Work*, 1: 44, 45; *Sikeston Standard*, 6 March 1936; Doherty, *Louis Houck*, 43.

23. Lopata, *Local Aid*, 38, 57; Doherty, *Louis Houck*, 14; William T. Doherty Jr., "Louis Houck: Opponent and Imitator of Jay Gould," *Business History Review* 30 (March 1956): 54. In 1850 the federal government gave Missouri all the federal swamplands in the state. In March 1851 and February 1853, Missouri conveyed these lands to the respective counties to aid their development.

24. Doherty, *Louis Houck*, 43; Doherty, "Louis Houck," 55. For information regarding the ultimate sale of the Houck lines, see *Cape Girardeau Democrat*, 6, 13 September 1902; *St. Louis Republic*, 4 November 1902; 6 December 1912; *Cape Girardeau Weekly Republican*, 12 April, 6 September 1902; *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, 11 January 1914.

25. Houck, *Story of the Railroad Work*, 1: 14.

26. Ibid., 15. Robert Sturdivant opened the Sturdivant Bank in Cape Girardeau in 1866. The first private bank in the town, the institution was organized out of remnants of dissolved branches of the Bank of Missouri after it became federalized in 1866, and by 1880 it was one of the region's most important financial institutions. Sturdivant's initial backing of Houck's scheme was the first of many instances in which the banker arranged financing for his friend's railroad projects.

27. Houck, *Story of the Railroad Work*, 1: 15-18; Doherty, *Louis Houck*, 12, 143; Doherty, "Louis Houck," 47.

28. Houck, *Story of the Railroad Work*, 1: 21, 23, 24, 27, 28, 39.

29. Railroad construction usually involved "grading" by clearing a path and then creating a "dump" by putting in a landfill on the grade. So they could stay dry, the ties were laid on top of the dump with rails on top of them and rock ballast put in to facilitate drainage. Ibid., 19, 20, 21;

Louis Houck, *Memoirs* (Cape Girardeau, MO: Privately printed, n.d.), 160, in possession of C. A. and Jeanette Juden. *Memoirs* is an edited version of the first volume of *Story of the Railroad Work.*

30. Houck, *Story of the Railroad Work,* 1: 23, 25, 26.

31. Ibid., 26, 27; *St. Louis Post-Dispatch,* 1 March 1925.

32. Houck, *Story of the Railroad Work*, 1: 25, 28-30, 37; Houck, *Memoirs*, 150, 160, 161.

33. Houck, *Story of the Railroad Work,* 1: 29-31.

34. Ibid., 1: 33, 34, 151.

35. Ibid., 30, 33. Houck did not count the two miles of track laid by the old company in Cape Girardeau eight years earlier.

36. *Cape Girardeau Southeast Missourian*, 21 December 1944.

37. Missouri General Assembly, Committee on Railroads and Internal Improvements, *Statements and Testimony of Railroad Managers, of Shippers, Farmers and Others Taken Before the Committee on Railroads and Internal Improvements of the Extra Session of the Thirty-fourth General Assembly of Missouri* (Jefferson City: Tribune Printing, 1887), 346-347.

38. Houck, *Story of the Railroad Work,* 1: 31, 33.

39. Ibid., 29, 31, 33, 34, 152.

40. Ibid., 34-36.

41. Neumeyer, Nickell, and Rhodes, *Historic Cape Girardeau*, 1.

42. Trachtenberg, *Incorporation of America*, 143, 231. Among other pursuits, Houck served thirty-eight years (thirty-six as president) on the Board of Regents of Southeast Missouri State Teacher's College (Southeast Missouri State University) during one of the most dynamic periods in the institution's history. During this time, he presented the college with a substantial statuary collection, which he had purchased at the 1904 St. Louis World's Fair, and a significant archaeological collection. Moreover, Houck's impulse to reinvest in the state and people of Missouri is perhaps best reflected in his later years when the self-taught historian threw himself into writing the first published comprehensive histories of the territorial period in Missouri, *A History of Missouri from the Earliest Explorations and Settlements until the Admission of the State into the Union*, 3 vols. (Chicago: R. R. Donnelley and Sons, 1908) and *The Spanish Regime in Missouri*, 2 vols. (Chicago: R. R. Donnelley and Sons, 1909).

Under Penalty of Death:
Pierce City's Night of Racial Terror

JASON NAVARRO*

In 1901 the town of Pierce City, Missouri, was the scene of a horrific triple lynching that drew national attention.[1] In one night, an attack by Pierce City citizens drove out the town's entire African American population under penalty of death. Bullets rained down, and innocent men died. Blacks fled into the night, leaving everything they owned behind, as their homes burned. Since that night, no substantial black community has existed in Pierce City. The violence even caught the attention of author Mark Twain who lamented the lynchings: "And so Missouri has fallen, that great state! Certain of her children have joined the lynchers, and the smirch is upon the rest of us."[2]

Founded in 1870 as a division point on the St. Louis and San Francisco (Frisco) Railroad, Pierce City hosted a population of over 3,000 at its zenith. By 1900, due to the Frisco's decision to move the division point to nearby Monett in 1887, that number had dropped to around 2,200 people. Despite its decreasing size, Pierce City was still a thriving community at the dawn of the twentieth century. The town featured hardware and dry goods merchants, several hotels and saloons, and an opera house. Other businesses included a lumber mill, lime mining, a wagon shop, and a canning company. Farming in the Pierce City area consisted mainly of growing fruits and vegetables, with strawberries a featured crop.[3]

West End of Commercial Street, Pierce City, Early 1900s
[Courtesy Lawrence County Historical Society]

The violence brought about changes that were a radical departure from the town's traditions. A black population had been present since the founding of the town. Prominent African American families such as the Godleys, the Blys, and the Kelleys moved to southwest Missouri from Kentucky following the Civil War.[4] One of the first black settlers was Milla Godley. Born during the Revolutionary War and a survivor of slavery and the Civil War, Godley made the long trip from Kentucky with her family when she was in her nineties. She died on August 19, 1879, at one hundred and was one of a select few blacks to be buried in the Pierce City Cemetery alongside whites. An elegant headstone marked her grave. The Godley family remained in Pierce City, and more blacks moved to the area. By 1900 around two hundred African Americans lived in and around Pierce City.[5] They owned a few businesses in town, including a laundry and an icehouse. The black community also established two churches, one of which, St. Paul's Baptist Church, with its thirty-foot steeple, was highly visible to anyone entering the town by railroad from nearby Monett.[6] The church stood on the outskirts of the city and was a powerful reminder of the presence of a strong black community—a presence wiped out in one night of horrible violence that changed the city and the area forever.

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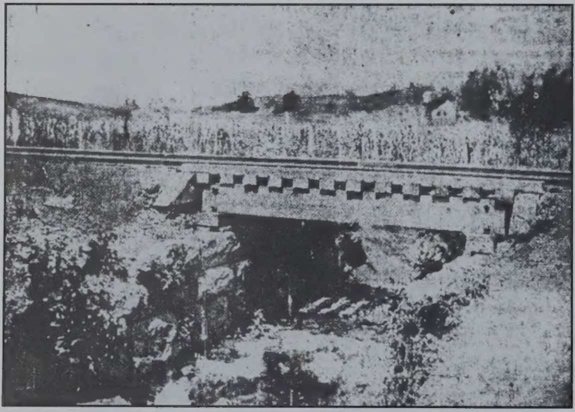
Pierce City's foray into blood justice began on the morning of August 18, 1901. On that day, twenty-three-year-old Gisela Wild and her sixteen-year-old brother, Carl, attended Sunday services at the Methodist Church (South). The services ended at noon, and the siblings began the walk to their home a mile and a half southwest of town. Carl stopped to talk with friends, and Gisela continued alone.[7]

At 1:00 p.m., the community fire bell rang to announce a gruesome discovery. Outside of town, Carl had discovered his sister lying underneath a culvert with her throat cut from ear to ear and her body still quivering. The boy ran to the nearby Kane residence and the police were called. Pierce City doctor P. L. Freeland arrived and pronounced Gisela dead by one clean cut to the throat. He observed blood on the body, on the rocks, and spurted four to five feet high onto the sides of the bridge above. The citizens of Pierce City began a frenzied search for the killer as Carl went home to tell his parents the terrible news.[8]

The condition of the body and the murder scene suggested that the attack had begun as a sexual assault. Signs of a struggle were found, and Gisela's possessions were scattered and her dress torn. "We presume the fellow found Miss Wild too strong for him and thought to hide evidence of his crime by adding murder to it," the *Peirce City Empire* reported the following day. The young woman had suffered a compound fracture to the middle finger of her left hand during the struggle, but there was no evidence she had been raped.[9]

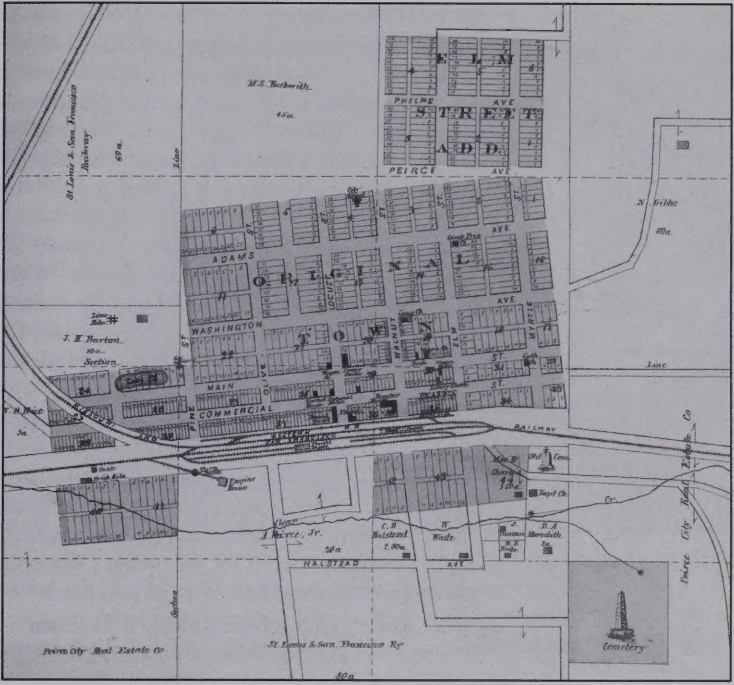


Carl Wild found his sister Gisela's body under this Frisco Railroad culvert, located a half mile west of Pierce City. [SHSMO 027093]

Gisela's body was carried home to her parents, Bernard and Elizabeth, German immigrants who owned a large farm outside of Pierce City where they had lived since the founding of the town. The community held the family in high esteem. The *Empire* promised the Wilds that "they have the sympathy of all in their bereavement, and that everything will be done to catch the guilty wretch."[10]

Suspicion soon fell upon Pierce City's black community. William Roark, a white man who owned a farm near the murder scene, reported that he and his wife had witnessed a "copper-colored negro" sitting on the bridge in the minutes before Gisela's murder. At the request of Washington Cloud, Pierce City mayor, search parties were dispatched to hunt for the killer. Weapons and ammunition were borrowed from the local National Guard armory for use in the scouting. The search parties returned empty-handed on Sunday evening, and more teams formed to look throughout the night. Lawrence County Sheriff John Manlove arrived to oversee the operation, and John Conner, city marshal of nearby Aurora, came to Pierce City to assist in the manhunt. Conner recommended the procurement of bloodhounds, which arrived Monday afternoon from Lamar under the care of Barton County Sheriff John Harlow.[11]

The search continued on Monday, and in the afternoon, "excitement in Peirce City was intense and threats of lynching certain negroes, that were thought to be implicated in the murder, were made openly." The *Empire* denounced the murder as "the most awful occurrence our people have ever had to contend with." Editor A. T. Boothe whipped up the mob mentality, declaring, "No such crime should ever go unpunished, and every citizen should constitute himself an officer for the time being to help down the murderer . . . every nick and corner of the city should be thoroughly searched, and when discovered no punishment is too bad." Similarly, the *Webb City Daily Sentinel* reported, "The people of Pierce City are greatly excited and threats of lynching and burning at the stake are freely made." Telegrams were reportedly sent to an Aurora druggist requesting oil because "there was not as much oil in Pierce City as they wanted if they caught the murderer." Two Pierce City banks offered hundred-dollar rewards for information leading to the capture and conviction of the murderer, and the reward was expected to increase to one thousand dollars by the end of the day. Against this tense background, two blacks, thirty-two-year-old William Godley and seventeen-year-old Eugene Barrett, were arrested and held in the city jail on suspicion despite a complete lack of evidence against them.[12]



Plat Map of Pierce City, 1879
[SHSMO 027082]

An 1891 conviction for the rape of sixty-year-old Johanna Filo of Pierce City, based entirely on questionable eyewitness identification, had earned Godley a reputation as a sexual predator along with names including "godless Godley" and "mean nigger" that made him a natural target for the rioters in the absence of Gisela Wild's actual killer. Godley had barely escaped lynching after his arrest for the earlier rape and probably owed his life to Rueben J. Chappell, a Pierce City lawman and Confederate veteran who had managed to run Godley through a crowd of two hundred angry whites and put him on a carriage bound for the jail in Mount Vernon.[13] Godley received a ten-year sentence in the penitentiary for the rape but was released early for good behavior and returned to Pierce City. He did not have the benefit of Chappell's protection, who had been murdered in November 1900, on the night of his lynching.

As news of Godley's arrest circulated on Monday afternoon, two white girls stepped forward with allegations that he had attempted to rape them on their walk home from church a few months earlier. The crime was well known, but the identity of the perpetrator had not been established. The girls claimed that Godley had threatened to kill them if they disclosed his identity.[14]

The murder of Gisela Wild came in a year of national racial tensions. At least 135 blacks were lynched in 1901, and African American leader Ida B. Wells denounced lynching as the "national crime" of the United States. Booker T. Washington's dinner with President Theodore Roosevelt drew the fury of white southerners, forcing Washington to maintain armed guards at Tuskegee Institute. Senator Benjamin Tillman of South Carolina said that the dinner would require the killing of a thousand blacks "before they learn their place again," and a congressman from Alabama said it would have been a good thing if a bomb had been placed under the table to kill both Washington and Roosevelt. Congress became exclusively white in 1901 when Representative George H. White of North Carolina failed to gain reelection due to the disenfranchisement of black voters in that state. No African Americans served in Congress again until 1929.[15]

Local racial tensions were also on the rise in 1901. The white community blamed a series of crimes in Pierce City during the preceding years on the black population, but the allegations were not proven due to the perceived "impossibility to get a negro to testify against another negro." The most serious of these crimes was the unsolved murder of night watchman Rueben Chappell. These events contributed to the racial tension in Pierce City, but Gisela's murder provided the spark that ignited the town in what became known as "one of the worst pieces of mob vengeance and negro hatred ever known in the history of race war in the United States."[16]

On Monday evening, several hundred people gathered outside of the city jail and demanded possession of Godley and Barrett. Mayor Cloud and other city officials pleaded with the crowd to let the law take its course, and the gathering soon dispersed. The calm did not last long. Around 9:00 p.m., the crowd reformed, with reinforcements from the countryside and nearby towns. This was no unruly mob but was instead an organized effort led by some of the town's more respected citizens. The group of over one thousand determined rioters stormed the jail and removed Godley and Barrett by force.[17]

Washington Cloud, Pierce City Mayor [SHSMO 027081]

The attackers placed a noose around the neck of each prisoner and demanded a confession of who was responsible for the crime. Barrett pleaded for his life and claimed to know who had committed the murder. He accused Joe Lark, a porter on the St. Louis and San Francisco Railroad who had been in Pierce City the day of the murder but had since departed. According to the *Empire*, Barrett also implicated another Frisco porter, William Favors. Barrett's statement saved his life. He was removed from the crowd, and Pierce City officials rushed him to the jail in nearby Mount Vernon. Unlike Barrett, Godley remained quiet throughout his ordeal. He never made a statement of innocence or guilt nor implicated others in the crime.[18] Apparently believing his situation hopeless, Godley accepted his fate.

Despite Barrett's implication of Lark and Favors, the rioters dragged Godley west on Commercial Street and attempted to hang him from a telephone pole. When the rope proved too short, Godley's captors yanked him to his feet and pulled him back down the street east to the Lawrence Hotel, one of Pierce City's oldest businesses. The rioters tied the rope to an iron banister on the hotel's second floor, and Godley was "swung off into eternity." The crowd immediately opened fire on the hanging body. One bystander reported, "The negro's body was perforated and as heavy bullets went through he swung with a force, and his clothes on the opposite side puffed out as though the wind were blowing through." The indiscriminate gunfire did heavy damage to the entire area. Stray bullets shattered most of the windows in the hotel and in several surrounding businesses and hit the depot behind the Lawrence Hotel, causing damage to the baggage rooms and scattering frightened passengers from the waiting room. The gunfire also reportedly injured a few bystanders. When the barrage ended, Pierce City attorney Joe French cut down Godley's body, which was "riddled almost to pieces."[19]

The Lawrence Hotel, as Shown in the August 25, 1901, St. Louis Post-Dispatch [SHSMO 027089]

The racial violence did not end with the death of William Godley. The *Empire* reported that some rioters "thought of some other negroes who needed attention" after Godley's death. The crowd reformed and marched into the black district of Pierce City looking for Godley's cousin Pete Hampton. Although not implicated in the murder, Hampton was known in town as a "notorious negro criminal," and the rioters saw the opportunity to remove him and all other blacks from Pierce City. The attackers reached Hampton's house on South Elm Street and quickly determined that he was not there. They then set fire to the house, as well as to several surrounding black residences.[20]

The mob moved west to the home of seventy-year-old French Godley, stepfather of Pete Hampton and uncle of William Godley. There they found Hampton armed and ready to defend himself. An exchange of gunfire ensued in which several whites were hit. The white rioters, making use of an advantage in numbers as well as fifty Springfield rifles stolen from the National Guard armory after William Godley's lynching, quickly gained the upper hand. Pete Hampton and French Godley fell in the rain of bullets as other blacks hurried to escape from the rear of the house. Wiley Godley, a relative of the victims and one of nine men in French Godley's house when the shooting commenced, "saw Pete Hampton fall and knew he had been killed."[21]

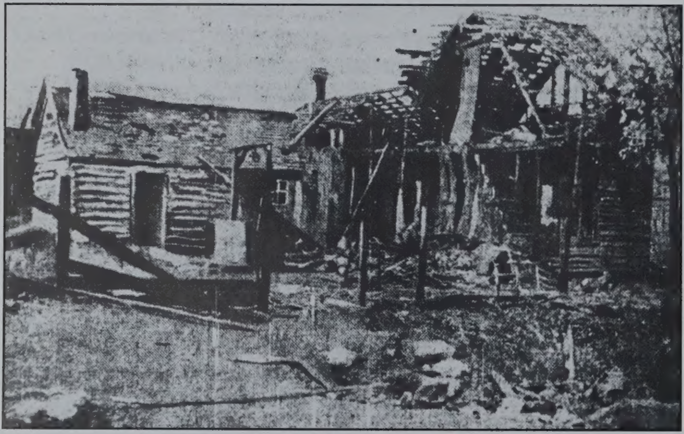
A year before the lynching, Hampton had reported shots fired behind the Windsor Hotel to Reuben Chappell. He led Chappell behind the Windsor, where they met three men coming down the railroad tracks. When Chappell attempted to question the men, one pulled a revolver and shot Chappell's left eye. Hampton pulled his gun and exchanged fire with the men as they made their escape. Several men found Chappell and moved him to the Windsor Hotel saloon and eventually to his home. He died of the wound two days later. Chappell's murderer was never identified, and as time went on, Hampton became a suspect. This was the primary reason that the rioters sought Hampton on the night he was lynched.[22]

Unlike the other lynched blacks, French Godley did not have a bad reputation in Pierce City. The *Mt. Vernon Lawrence Chieftain* reported that "there was no desire to kill French Godley but he was unfortunately in the wrong place."[23] The report appears to be accurate; no other motive for Godley's murder was ever established.

First Lieutenant W. C. Gillen of Pierce City National Guard Company E watched the attack from the veranda of the nearby Windsor Hotel and thought it "the wildest mob I ever saw." Gillen stated, "There was a skirmish line drawn up . . . along the track, in front of the negro houses, with a considerable body of men at both left and right. The house of old French Godley was in the zone of a crossfire. It was peppered from two directions." Other guests at the Windsor Hotel hid in their rooms to avoid the stray bullets that riddled the building.[24]

After gunfire from French Godley's house ceased, the rioters burned the building. Gillen reported, "After the torch was applied the whole scene was brightly illuminated. Five houses were burning, those of Shack [or Doc] Brinson, Pete Hampton, French Godley, Mrs. Emma Carter, the Windsor Hotel cook, and another. This made a line of flames half a block long, which lit up Clear creek, in the rear, and the wooded ridge beyond." Despite the lack of return fire, the mob continued to terrorize black Pierce City "as long as one of the hated race could be found." Gillen believed that the white rioters fired at least six hundred shots, as that was the amount of ammunition missing from the looted armory. The number was probably much higher because numerous privately owned weapons were also used in the attack. One account placed the number of rounds fired at fifteen hundred.[25]

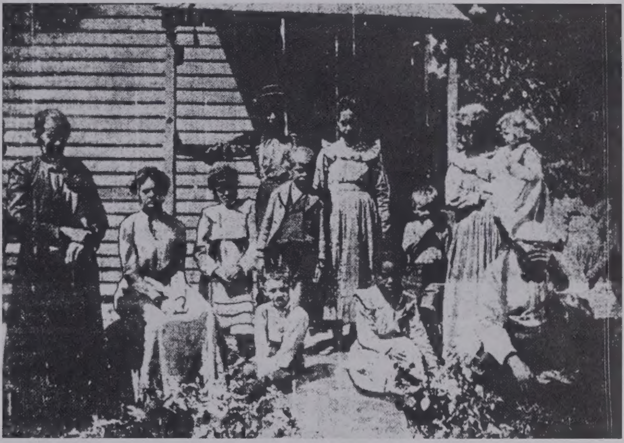
Blacks fled Pierce City throughout the night, avoiding the certain death that awaited them if they remained. The escapes were narrow and dramatic. Two black preachers, S. S Pitcher of Carthage and L. M. Smith of Lamar, had the terrorizing experience of being trapped in the path of the rioters. The preachers, in Pierce City to lead a church camp, wisely chose not to continue with services after hearing of the Wild murder. The men retired to the home of James Cobb, a black Pierce City resident who was French Godley's neighbor. When Godley's house was attacked, the Cobb residence took much of the fire. Pitcher later described the events: "When the first volley came crashing in we all dropped flat on the floor to keep from being hit. In a few minutes the shooting seemed to let up a little and we all crawled to the cellar. There we felt safer, but the shooting continued for a long while and many bullets hit the house." Realizing that the houses around them were on fire, the occupants of the Cobb home decided to escape out the back door and into the woods. "Every time one of us would jump out in sight to make a run a volley of shots would come after us and some of the balls hit pretty close. It was the greatest wonder in the world we were not shot." The preachers walked back to Carthage after their ordeal, leaving their church tent in Pierce City. Pitcher estimated that two hundred shots hit the Cobb residence before they made their escape. The Cobb family fled to Springfield.[26]



The homes of Emma Carter (left) and French Godley (right) were destroyed by the angry mob. The bodies of Godley and Hampton were found in the celler of Godley's house the morning after the violence.
[SHSMO 027091]

The charred bodies of Pete Hampton and French Godley were discovered in the ruins of Godley's house the following morning. Overnight, the city's entire black population of over two hundred had gone into exile. The *Joplin Globe* reported, "The very best citizens in this city say that they are satisfied that the negro population has been removed, and that henceforth Peirce City shall be a white man's town." Most of the blacks moved to Joplin, Carthage, or Springfield. Springfield African Americans assisted those uprooted from Pierce City. The *Globe* noted, "A colored man by the name of Abernathy has constituted himself a committee of safety and meets every westbound train on the Frisco and warns all colored passengers not to go nearer the danger line. He has filled up his house with passengers thus stopped and refugees from Peirce City." The Cobb family was among the refugees who found sanctuary at James Abernathy's house in Springfield.[27]

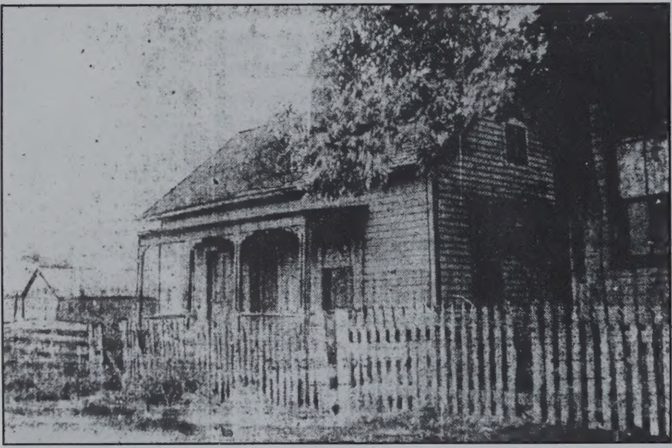
On Thursday, the murdered men were buried in the potter's field of the Pierce City Cemetery with no services and no mourners present.[28] Throughout the week, exiled blacks returned to town to retrieve their possessions but were not allowed to remain. They found themselves obliged to sell anything they could at any price they could get. "Uncle" Ben Kelly was forced to sell his chickens for forty dollars and commented, "Them chickens was wuth mo'. A heap sight mo', sah, but dey had to be sol at a sac'fice."[29] Another woman complained that she had to sell her cow for ten dollars, despite the fact that it was worth three times that much. The *Globe* reported, "The white men stand ready to buy their [the African Americans'] real estate. After this is done, they must vacate the town."[30] With these matters finished, the Pierce City black community ceased to exist.



Pierce City Refugees at Jim Abernathy's Home in Springfield. The adults from left to right are Mrs. Cobb Sr., Miss Pinky Cobb, Mrs. Maria Moss, and Jim Abernathy. [SHSMO 027092]

Although Gisela Wild's murder sparked the racial violence, the people of Pierce City did not let the issue drop after the vengeful triple lynching. Residents regarded Frisco porters Joe Lark and William Favors as likely to have committed the crime, and officials sought the men's arrests. Pete Hampton and French Godley were never connected to the murder, and although William Godley was arrested on suspicion, he was not a strong suspect. Each of the three men had a proven alibi for his whereabouts at the time of the murder.[31] These men met their deaths for reasons that had contributed to the white community's hostility toward the entire black population of the city.

The composition of the crowd that lynched William Godley and led the attack on Pierce City African Americans was typical of most lynchings. The lynchers were not entirely from the lower class; they came from various social and economic backgrounds and varied in age. No one wore a mask to conceal his identity. The leaders were businessmen and merchants, including well-known businessman Jack LeGrand, a forty-four-year-old coal dealer, and William Abbott, a twenty-seven-year-old laborer, as well as twenty-one-year-old shop worker John Rogers, and former city marshal William Guthrie. At least one lawyer was present; Pierce City attorney Joe French was at the front of the crowd that lynched William Godley. *Peirce City*



According to the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, *"Uncle" Ben Kelly, whose house is pictured here, was the last African American to leave Pierce City. Kelly, nearly eighty years old, was given two grace days to sell his chickens.* [SHSMO 027090]

Empire editor A. T. Boothe, probably an eyewitness, credited French with cutting down Godley's body.[32] It is unknown if Boothe took an active part in the lynchings, but his editorials in the *Empire* were pivotal in inciting the mob violence.

Also typical was the denial of involvement by the Pierce City elite. Residents adopted the Southern myth that poor whites carried out lynchings and that the elite despised the practice. In an attempt to blame someone else for the lynchings and to save their town's reputation, some prominent citizens formed the Pierce City Citizens Committee, which issued a report placing the blame on Bernard Wild's "farmer friends," asserting that they "came to avenge the crime by the hundreds." The report also claimed: "Many people from neighboring towns were here to assist. It is safe to say that a larger number of people from outside the city limits were among the mob than from within."[33]

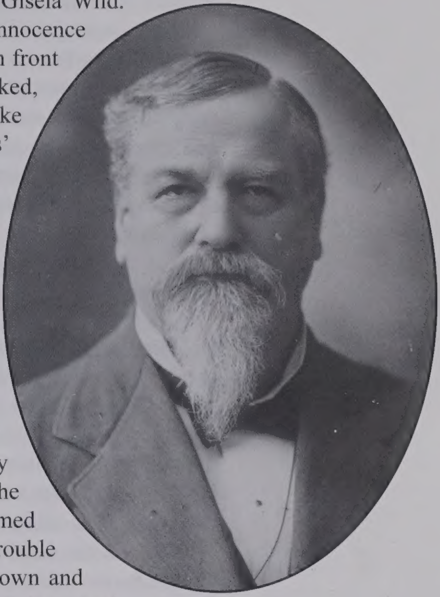
A more honest description of the crowd's composition came from a prominent Pierce City businessman. In an interview with the *Joplin Globe,* a Mr. Perrott described the rioters as a "well organized body of determined men." He added, "The crowd that meted out justice was composed of some of Peirce City's most honorable citizens, not the wealthiest class, understand, but men of good reputation. Of course a few of the lower rank joined the delegation, but they were not the leaders." Another eyewitness noted that the crowd was "composed largely of young men, 20 to 30 years old, but there were also many older heads.[34]

Women came to watch the events. After William Godley's body was cut down, "a dozen or so women, in twos and threes with escorts came and gazed." This is not unique. White women often attended lynchings, shouting encouragement to the male participants.[35]

The role of the National Guard in the riot is unclear. The local unit was not called out to defend the black community, and some members of the guard were rumored to have participated in the lynchings. It was widely known that the mob breached the armory without resistance and used rifles and ammunition belonging to the guard in the attack. The rumors prompted Missouri Governor Alexander Dockery to send W. T. Dameron, adjutant general of the Missouri National Guard, to Pierce City to secure state property and investigate the involvement of the local company in the riot. Dockery was prepared to disband the company pending Dameron's findings.[36] The investigation led Dameron to the conclusion that "none of the officers or men of Company 'E,' aided or assisted directly or indirectly, the mob in the execution of their unlawful acts." He declared that the company "stood ready to assist the civil officers to protect life, property, to restore order and keep the peace, had they been called on to do so" and that he did not "feel warranted in recommending the disbandment of the Company." Instead, Dameron stated that the "men are entitled to much credit for the manner in which they conducted themselves during the exciting hours in the city, and they should be exonerated from unjust criticism based on mere rumors."[37] The report satisfied Governor Dockery, and Pierce City Company E remained intact.

One of the most appalling aspects of the lynchings was the fact that the lynchers knew that their victims were probably not the killers of Gisela Wild. Once a decision to lynch was made, determining guilt or innocence was not as important as making an example of the victim in front of the black community. A young Pierce City man remarked, "'The people of Peirce City believe that the life of one girl like Miss Wild is worth more than the lives of all the 'niggers' in the United States.'" The *Mt. Vernon Lawrence County Record* reprinted an *Aurora Argus* editorial applauding the lynchings: "'There is no punishment great enough to atone for such a crime. The argument is often put up that an innocent victim is liable to suffer. Perhaps so, but if they have to hang 25 to get the guilty one they will have an object lesson before the eyes of the nigger population. We say keep up the good work, Pierce City, until you get the right nigger.'"[38]

On the Thursday following the lynchings, Pierce City residents were alarmed by rumors of a counterattack by hundreds of African Americans hiding in the woods. The *Globe* reported: "At this hour there are a large number of armed negroes encamped to the south of this city [Pierce City] and trouble is apprehended. Pickets has been thrown all around the town and precautions are being taken to guard against any outbreak." Panicked city officials sent a telegram to nearby Carthage, exclaiming, "A large number of negroes are coming up from Neosho and Joplin; please send sheriff and policemen." Mayor Cloud also sent a telegram to the Jasper County sheriff in Carthage asking if any blacks were missing from that city. Carthage investigators could not account for the whereabouts of twenty-five to thirty blacks, contributing to the hysteria. The nervous mayor, who had earlier neglected to use the National Guard to protect blacks in Pierce City, called up Company E to protect whites from the possible attack. The company immediately sent out an order for ammunition because most of the rounds in the armory had been used in the attack on the black citizens.[39]



Alexander Dockery served as governor of Missouri from 1901 to 1905.
[SHSMO 027094-1]

The rumors proved groundless; no attack ever ensued. According to the *Sentinel*, "Not a nigger was found, seen nor heard of about Pierce City last night. Conservative people laugh at the idea that the colored population of southwest Missouri has courage or vindictiveness enough to attempt a mob attack." One black resident of Carthage confirmed that the rumors were unfounded: "'I aint got no business at Pierce. There was nobody there last night but low down white trash from Monett.'"[40]

In the months following the violent night, two black men accomplished something extraordinary—Joe Lark and Will Favors won their freedom in a court of law.

Following the Monday night attack, whites in Pierce City began searching for the real killer of Gisela Wild. In his statement just before the lynching of William Godley, Eugene Barrett saved his own life by implicating Lark and Favors in the murder. The case against Lark began on Monday afternoon before the lynchings, when search parties put bloodhounds on the trail of the killer. Although the trail was old, the bloodhounds led lawmen to Lark's home. Lark was out of town working as a Frisco porter by this time, but officials sent word to surrounding towns to hold him if he was found. Authorities in nearby Springfield placed Lark under arrest but did not send him to Pierce City because of threats to lynch him. Will Favors was arrested at about the same time in Tulsa, Oklahoma. A battle ensued for custody of Favors, soon jailed in Oklahoma City. Several Tulsa African Americans raised money to hire Favors an attorney and to prevent his release to Missouri officials. After gaining assurance that Favors was safe from lynching, Oklahoma officials released him from custody. Missouri officers immediately arrested him as a fugitive and jailed him in Kansas City.[41]

The evidence against Lark appeared strong, leading most Pierce City residents to believe that he was the murderer. As prosecutors built the case, however, they met with difficulty. Authorities believed that an eyewitness identification of Lark as the man sitting on the bridge just before Gisela Wild's murder would be condemning evidence in the upcoming trial and sent four witnesses from Pierce City to Springfield to identify Lark. Police prepared a lineup of fourteen men, including Lark and thirteen blacks known to have been in Springfield when the murder took place. William Roark, who had originally reported seeing a man on the bridge, could not identify anyone in the lineup who looked like the man he remembered. Roark's wife picked two men who were in Springfield at the time of the murder. The other witnesses also failed to identify Lark. One witness pointed Lark out as a "man I have frequently seen in Peirce City, but I did not see him on the day of Miss Wilds' [*sic*] murder."[42]

Despite the failure of the lineup to implicate him, Lark went to trial in Mt. Vernon for the murder. Without the testimony of eyewitnesses, prosecutors focused on items taken from the murder scene and evidence found in Lark's house. Barton County Sheriff John Harlow testified that his bloodhounds had led him to Lark's house on the day after the murder and that Gisela Wild's bloody handkerchief was found halfway between the murder scene and the house. A search of Lark's residence on the Tuesday after the murder had yielded a knife, possibly stained with blood, and the burned remains of a shirt. Another search of the house a month later had yielded a blood-stained shirt, but the defense attacked the find because the shirt was not present during earlier searches. Subsequent tests revealed that the stain on the knife was rust rather than blood. Despite this weak evidence, the *Peirce City Empire* reported: "The State had about rested its case, and had presented a strong one. In fact it is about conceded by parties who had heard the evidence that there would certainly be a conviction. There has been a general opinion among our people that Lark was the guilty man ever since he was arrested, and the web woven around him at Mt. Vernon has not weakened that opinion one bit."[43]

On November 26, the jury voted eight to four to acquit Lark. The decision angered the *Empire*'s editor, who wrote: "News came to us over the telephone this morning that the jury in the Joe Lark case at Mt. Vernon had brought in a verdict of Not Guilty, which means that the negro has been turned loose on the community to again meet some lady on the public highway and cut her throat as he did that of Miss Gazelle Wild." The *Empire* declared, "It is just such verdicts as this which cause mob violence."[44]

After the decision, prosecutors saw little chance of convicting Will Favors. Because the case against him was far weaker than the one against Lark, charges were dropped. When told of his impending release, Favors was said to have exclaimed, "For de Lawd sake, is dat so?" and declared his intention to hereafter be a "good niggah." Marshal Eyler, deputy in the jail where Favors was held, declared, "There never has been a better prisoner in the jail than he."[45] The release of Lark and Favors made this case unique during the early twentieth century.

Who killed Gisela Wild? Only one other suspect was ever mentioned, and the story caused controversy. A little over a week after the murder, the *Joplin Globe* reported that Gisela's life had been insured and that Carl would soon be arrested for murdering his sister to collect on the policy. The *Globe* later retracted the allegation after learning from sources in Pierce City that no insurance policy existed for Gisela. The *American-Tribune* from nearby Sarcoxie, home to several members of the Wild family, refuted the story and accused the *Globe* of "yellow journalism." The *American-Tribune* stated: "The young man, Carl, was left prostrate from the news. . . . There is not one penny's worth of insurance on any member of Bernhard Wild's family." Carl Wild died in 1966, and rumors of a deathbed confession continue to circulate in Pierce City, but the story appears to have no merit.[46]

The final development in the Pierce City episode was a remarkably bold action on the part of the city's former black community. In an unprecedented move, the widows of the lynched men filed civil suits against the leaders of the riot. In early August 1902, nearly a year after the lynchings, America Godley, Sarah Godley, and Beedie Hampton each filed $5,000 lost support suits in the Jasper County Circuit Court against twenty-one citizens of Pierce City. After fleeing Lawrence County, the widows lived in Joplin. When John Rogers, one of the presumptive riot leaders, moved to Carthage, the women filed the suits in Jasper County, rather than in Lawrence County where they did not believe they could win. The pretrial depositions eliminated most of the suspects named in the suits, but four defendants remained. Rogers, who had worked in a store near the site of William Godley's lynching, remained a suspect because he was shot during the riot and therefore had no alibi to place him elsewhere. The three remaining defendants were Jack LeGrand, William Abbott, and William Guthrie.[47]

On February 18, 1903, Sarah Godley, the widow of French Godley and the mother of Pete Hampton, took her case to trial in Joplin. The plaintiff's attorneys presented their case first. It quickly became obvious that LeGrand was the primary defendant as a parade of witnesses, all of them African American, identified him as the principal leader of the riot. Godley testified that she had seen LeGrand, Abbott, and Guthrie in the crowd that attacked her house. Her neighbor Doc Brinson, the owner of one of the houses burned during the riot, also identified LeGrand and Abbott as rioters. Charles Hunter, a black schoolteacher from Joplin, stated that he had been in Pierce City on the night of the lynchings and had "recognized LeGrand in the mob and said he was in the lead when he first saw him."[48] Hunter further testified that LeGrand was carrying either a gun or a club.

Several witnesses reported recognizing LeGrand's distinctive voice in the crowd, and many pointed him out in the courtroom. Two witnesses recounted incriminating conversations with LeGrand. Will Young testified that LeGrand had stopped him before the riot and asked him who had killed Gisela, telling him, "'If you know you had better tell, for if we find out who committed the act it will go as hard with you as any of them.'" According to the *Joplin Globe*, Jessie Hampton, perhaps a relative of Pete Hampton, testified that when the bodies were removed from the Godley house on Tuesday morning, LeGrand stated that "they did not intend to kill French Godley; they wanted to kill Pete Hampton."[49]

The plaintiff's attorneys also built a strong case against William Guthrie. In addition to his identification by Sarah Godley as a member of the crowd, Guthrie took a bullet in the arm during the riot, and like John Rogers, could not place himself elsewhere due to his injury. Guthrie, a former marshal of Pierce City, owned a gun shop in town. The plaintiff's attorney attempted to establish Guthrie's ill will toward the black community by introducing reports that "the local hardware stores sold out of their arms early, but several applications from negroes were refused." Other reports claimed that the guns and ammunition had been handed out to whites free of charge. The case against William Abbott depended on eyewitness accounts and the weakness of his alibi in the pretrial depositions.[50] After one day of testimony, the plaintiff's attorney rested his case.

The next day, defense attorneys tried to end the case by arguing that no proof existed that French and Sarah Godley had been legally married; therefore, Sarah was not entitled to a settlement. Each had been married previously, and proof of annulment or death of the previous spouses could not be produced. The judge disapproved of the motion, allowing the trial to continue.[51]

Each of the defendants took the stand in his own defense, with Jack LeGrand testifying first. He explained his presence at Godley's house by saying that he had been deputized that afternoon and had entered the riot that night to try to prevent trouble. LeGrand stated that "he went to a man who seemed to be the leader and asked him not to harm the old people. To this he said the fellow shoved a gun in his face and asked: 'Who the --ll is running this affair?'" LeGrand admitted that he then called the city electrician and requested that power to the streetlights be shut off so the blacks could not target the white rioters. He testified that he did not have a gun when he was at Godley's house and that he did not recognize any of the rioters as citizens of Pierce City, believing that they were "from the east."[52] LeGrand denied making the statements attributed to him by the black witnesses.

William Guthrie took the stand and testified that he also had been in the crowd as an officer of the law when he was shot. He said that he did nothing to prevent the riot because he was greatly outnumbered and that he left immediately to see a surgeon after he was wounded. The defense then produced many witnesses who testified that the defendants were all men of good reputation and that the black witnesses had bad reputations in Pierce City.[53]

After the defense finished calling witnesses, the attorneys for Sarah Godley argued to the jury that the defense had formed its arguments only after hearing the testimony of the preceding day. Godley's attorney George Grayston also argued that the pretrial depositions were tainted because the witnesses for the defense had been allowed to sit in the room together and hear the statements of other witnesses, thereby keeping their stories consistent and protecting the lynchers. Grayston had tried to stop this practice, but the defense continued to allow it despite his objections. Grayston argued that "an attorney who had faith in his witnesses to tell the truth would not have objected to the rule." Defense attorney Joe French countered Grayston's arguments by appealing to the jury that the case was "in a way a criminal one; that if the defendants were implicated in the

Jasper County Courthouse, Joplin
[SHSMO 027095]

killing of French Godley to the extent that they should pay his widow one dollar, they could be prosecuted for murder and convicted." French also asked the jury if "they were going to believe the testimony of crap-shooting negroes or that of good, reputable citizens." He disputed Sarah Godley's financial loss, declaring that "French Godley was not physically able to earn a day's wages and that Sarah Godley . . . was better off by reason of his having been killed."[54] These statements were typical of French, who was among the rioters who lynched William Godley and was credited with cutting down Godley's body from the hotel banister.[55]

Plaintiff attorney Stonewall Pritchett then gave a passionate closing statement to the jury in which he repeatedly shouted at the defendants. "Why did you not attempt to protect the colored people from the mob by requesting the mob to go to their homes?" he yelled at LeGrand. "Abbott, why didn't you remain at home and protect your own family?" Pritchett screamed.[56] After this theatrical closing statement, the case went to the jury.

On the following morning, the all-white jury acquitted the defendants of all charges and awarded Sarah Godley nothing. The decision was a great relief to the local people who feared "many other cases of a similar nature would be brought" if Godley's suit succeeded. Godley's attorneys filed a motion for a new trial on the grounds of jury misconduct. They presented witnesses who testified that they had observed members of the jury discussing the case in Joplin during the trial, despite specific instructions from the court not to do so. The appeal proved unsuccessful, and the case was closed. America Godley apparently lost heart after the first verdict and failed to appear for her trial. Her case was dismissed, as was Beedie Hampton's suit.[57] Although filing the civil suits were a courageous move by the widows, they proved unsuccessful.

The end of the court cases began many years of near-silence about the Pierce City affair. An examination of local histories shows that the events of 1901 are rarely mentioned. With the notable exception of a series of articles in the 1991 *Monett Times*, the incident merits no more than a sentence or two in any city or county history. A 1974 history of Lawrence County included the incident in a section on population loss, stating only that the problem was compounded by the black population leaving and noting that "at these years occurred the unfortunate difficulty of the murder of the young daughter of a white family, and the uprising of outsiders, bent on trouble making, that led to the withdrawal of the Negro Population." A 1992 county history ignored the extralegal violence entirely, instead focusing on the execution of convicted criminals in what were referred to as "legal hangings." A book written for the Pierce City centennial in 1970 failed to cover the city's past racial violence, instead providing a few pages under the heading of "Negroes Assist Peirce City to Develop." The only mention of the events of 1901 occurs in a section on economic hardships: "There were hard times for most everyone. So that after disturbing situations, the Negro population left Pierce City as well as most other small towns in the border states; economics were not such as to offer much work for Negro families."[58] These vague assertions fail to capture the gravity of the event, leaving the local histories nearly silent on Pierce City's bloody past.

The violence in Pierce City played a pivotal role in a larger regional story. A series of lynchings in southwest Missouri between the years of 1894 and 1906 drove away most of the region's black population. These lynchings were unlike lynchings in the Deep South, where the main goals were to uphold white supremacy and to keep a compliant and intimidated force of agricultural laborers. In the decades after the Civil War, southwest Missouri saw a vast immigration of southern blacks into the region.[59] This population was not economically important to a local economy that did not depend on cash crops such as cotton and tobacco. Blacks instead found themselves competing with poor whites for mining and railroad employment. This condition led to racial tensions, and when the lynchings took place, their aim was not only to intimidate but also to remove the region's black population.

An 1894 lynching in Monett led not only to the expulsion of the town's black population but also to the removal of most African Americans from Barry County. The 1901 triple lynching and race riot in Pierce City finished the process in Barry County when Willis Dehoney sold his farm and moved, leaving the county without a single black resident. In Lawrence County, all of the blacks left Pierce City, and blacks farming at nearby Jolly Mill "received a 'request' from a number of white citizens of that part of the country to vacate, decided that discretion was the better part of valor, sold their property at a sacrifice and started out to hunt another home." The black population left Sarcoxie as well, fearing hostility from the many Wild family relatives there. After the Pierce City violence, the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* reported: "Southwest Missouri is gradually growing into a colorless community. Down here they call it the white man's heaven." The account listed Aurora, Cassville, Newburg, and Webb City as additional places where blacks were not welcome within city limits.[60]

1901

Other southwest Missouri towns contributed to the pattern of violence. A lynching and race riot in Joplin in 1903 turned much of the city's black population into refugees, although many returned within a few days. Springfield continued the violent chain of events when three blacks were hanged and their bodies burned and mutilated in the town square in April 1906.[61] On that occasion, removal of the black population was called for but prevented when a sympathetic white man armed the black community with dynamite and the state militia organized to prevent further violence. Many of Springfield's African American leaders and professionals left and did not return. Taken collectively, these events removed most of southwest Missouri's black population. Every county in the region reported a decline in black population between the years of 1890 and 1910.[62]

The Godley family's troubles were far from over. On April 16, 1903, just a few weeks after the conclusion of Sarah Godley's civil trial, Joplin erupted in racial violence. The murder of police officer Theodore Leslie by a black man on the preceding night led to the lynching of suspect Thomas Gilyard. A crowd numbering in the thousands then stormed the African American sections of Joplin, setting fire to houses and cutting the hoses of firemen who tried to extinguish the blazes. The *Peirce City Empire* cheered the lynching, reporting, "The black brute who shot to death Officer Leslie in Joplin Tuesday night was hanged by a crowd of righteous citizens in that town Wednesday and another name was added to the list of good negroes."[63] The Godley family fled Joplin that night, veterans of this all-too-familiar event.

NOTES

1. The original spelling of the town's name is Peirce City, honoring railroad tycoon Andrew Peirce who donated the land on which the town was founded. The modern spelling of Pierce City started as a postal error and was eventually adopted. Miriam K. Brown, *The Story of Pierce City 1870-1970* (Cassville, MO: Litho Printers, 1970), 21. The author has used the modern spelling in this article, except for primary sources that refer to the original spelling.

2. Charles Neider, ed., *The Complete Essays of Mark Twain* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1963), 673.

3. *Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900, Population Schedule*, "Lawrence County" (National Archives Microfilm Publication T623, roll 870); Jessie C. Miller et al., eds., *Lawrence County Missouri History* (Mt. Vernon: Lawrence County Historical Society, 1974), 203.

4. Murray Bishoff, "Monett's Darkest Hour: The Lynching of June 28, 1894," *Monett Times*, 27-28 June 1994.

5. Murray Bishoff, "The Lynching that Changed Southwest Missouri," *Monett Times*, 14-16 August 1991.

6. Map, *Peirce City, Lawrence County Mo., May 1902* (New York: Sanborn Map Company, 1902).

7. *Neosho Times,* 22 August 1901. Many variations of the spelling of Gisela appear in the primary sources. The author has used the spelling that appears on her tombstone, except when quoting documents that spell it otherwise.

8. *Mt. Vernon Lawrence Chieftain*, 22 August 1901; *Missouri v. Lark*, 1901, Lawrence County Circuit Court, Lawrence County Courthouse, Mt. Vernon; Bishoff, "The Lynching that Changed Southwest Missouri."

9. *Peirce City Empire*, 19 August 1901; *Carthage Evening Press*, 19 August 1901.

10. Brown, *Story of Pierce City*, 21; *Peirce City Empire*, 19 August 1901.

11. *Mt. Vernon Lawrence Chieftain*, 22 August 1901; *Report of the Adjutant-General of the State of Missouri for the Year 1901* (Jefferson City: Tribune, 1902), 17; *Joplin Daily Globe*, 20 August 1901; *Peirce City Empire*, 20 August 1901.

12. *Report of the Adjutant-General*, 17; *Peirce City Empire*, 19 August 1901; *Webb City Daily Sentinel*, 19 August 1901; *Mt. Vernon Lawrence Chieftain*, 22 August 1901.

13. *Carthage Evening Press*, 20 August 1901; Bishoff, "The Lynching that Changed Southwest Missouri."

14. *Peirce City Empire*, 29 November 1900; 6 September 1901.

15. Darlene C. Hine, ed., *Black Women in United States History* (Brooklyn: Carlson, 1990), 279; Donald L. Grant, *The Anti-Lynching Movement, 1883-1932* (San Francisco: R and E Research Associates, 1975), 39, 66-67.

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18. *Joplin Daily Globe*, 21 August 1901; *Peirce City Empire*, 21 August 1901; *Report of the Adjutant-General*, 18.

19. *Peirce City Empire*, 21, 22 August 1901; *Carthage Evening Press*, 20 August 1901; *Joplin Daily Globe*, 21, 22 August 1901.

20. *Peirce City Empire*, 20 August 1901; *Mt. Vernon Lawrence Chieftain*, 22 August 1901.

21. *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, 25 August 1901; *Peirce City Empire*, 22 August 1901.

22. *Peirce City Empire*, 29 November 1900; 6 September 1901.

23. *Mt. Vernon Lawrence Chieftain*, 22 August 1901.

24. *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, 25 August 1901; *Peirce City Empire*, 22 August 1901.

25. *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, 25 August 1901; *Mt. Vernon Lawrence Chieftain*, 22 August 1901; *Carthage Evening Press*, 20 August 1901.

26. *Carthage Weekly Press,* 22 August 1901; *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, 25 August 1901.

27. *Joplin Daily Globe*, 22, 23 August 1901; *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, 25 August 1901.

28. *Joplin Daily Globe*, 22 August 1901.

29. *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, 25 August 1901. Newspaper accounts from the period often used phonetic spelling when quoting African Americans and proper grammar in quotes from whites. Quotations appear in their original form throughout this article.

30. Ibid.; *Joplin Daily Globe*, 22 August 1901.

31. *Peirce City Empire*, 20 August 1901; *Missouri v. Lark.*

32. *Sarah Godley v. Rogers*, 1902, Jasper County Circuit Court, Jasper County Courthouse, Carthage;

Bishoff, "The Lynching that Changed Southwest Missouri"; *Peirce City Empire*, 22 August 1901; *Twelfth Census . . . 1900,* "Lawrence County."

33. *Peirce City Empire*, 6 September 1901.

34. *Joplin Daily Globe*, 29 August 1901; *Carthage Evening Press*, 20 August 1901.

35. *Carthage Evening Press*, 20 August 1901; Michael J. Pfeifer, "The Ritual of Lynching: Extralegal Justice in Missouri, 1890-1942," *Gateway Heritage* 13 (Winter 1993): 27.

36. *Joplin Daily Globe*, 24 August 1901.

37. *Report of the Adjutant-General*, 18-19.

38. Leon F. Litwack, *Trouble in Mind: Black Southerners in the Age of Jim Crow* (New York: Knopf, 1998), 290; *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, 25 August 1901; *Mt. Vernon Lawrence County Record*, 29 August 1901.

39. *Webb City Daily Sentinel*, 24 August 1901; *Joplin Daily Globe*, 23 August 1901; *Report of the Adjutant-General*, 18; *Carthage Evening Press*, 23 August 1901.

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44. *Peirce City Empire*, 26 November 1901.

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47. *Mt. Vernon Lawrence Chieftain*, 26 February 1903; *Sarah Godley v. Rogers; Peirce City Empire*, 20 August 1901; Bishoff, "The Lynching that Changed Southwest Missouri."

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50. *New York Times*, 22 August 1901; *Joplin Daily Globe*, 21 August 1901; *Sarah Godley v. Rogers.*

51. *Joplin Daily Globe*, 19 February 1903.

52. Ibid., 20 February 1903.

53. Ibid.

54. Ibid.

55. *Peirce City Empire*, 20 August 1901.

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57. *Mt. Vernon Lawrence Chieftain,* 26 February 1903; *Sarah Godley v. Rogers; America Godley v. Rogers,* 1902, Jasper County Circuit Court, Jasper County Courthouse.

58. Miller et al., eds., *Lawrence County Missouri History*, 203-204; Kathy S. Fairchild, ed., *Down Turnback Trails: A Sketch Book of Lawrence County, Missouri* (Mount Vernon, MO: Lawrence County Historical Society and Lawrence County Record, 1992), 44; Brown, *Story of Pierce City*, 45, 47.

59. Litwack, *Trouble in Mind*, 307; *Tenth Census of the United States, 1880, Population Schedule*, "Lawrence County" (National Archives Microfilm Publication T9, roll 698).

60. Bishoff, "The Lynching that Changed Southwest Missouri"; *Neosho Miner and Mechanic*, 19 September 1901; Lanny J. Headley, *Gilbert H. Wild, his ancestors and related families, Allen, Brindle and Hase* (Gwinn, MI: by the author, 1989), 194; *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, 25 August 1901.

61. Burton L. Purrington and Penny L. Harter, "The Easter and Tug-of-War Lynchings and the Early Twentieth-Century Black Exodus from Southwest Missouri," in *Visions and Revisions: Ethnohistoric Perspectives on Southern Cultures,* ed. George Sabo III and William M. Schneider (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1987), 60.

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An Episcopal Priest's Reflections on the Kansas City Riot of 1968

DAVID KERRIGAN FLY*

After my first sermon at Grace and Holy Trinity Episcopal Cathedral in Kansas City, Missouri, in the summer of 1966, a rather large man came up to me. He wore big horn-rimmed glasses and spoke in a voice that reminded me of the Warner Bros. cartoon character Senator Foghorn Leghorn, a large chicken. He placed his hands on both of my shoulders and said, "Boy, let me give you some advice about your preaching: when you preach, first of all, wave your hands around a lot. I like that. Secondly, when you preach, don't mention colored people—they're really happy people, and we've heard enough about them around here."

David Fly (right center) and Ed Warner (left center) were among many Kansas City clergy who struggled to keep the protests peaceful following Martin Luther King's assassination. [*Kansas City Star* photo, courtesy Ilus Davis Papers, Western Historical Manuscript Collection-Kansas City]

In the following week, I learned that the hot topic at the cathedral was that my predecessor had presented a young black man for confirmation and then the dean had allowed him to be an acolyte on Sunday mornings. Those offended by these acts believed that the young man really had no desire to be confirmed and that this was only a ploy to rub people's noses in the "race issue." Of course, in the summer of 1966, raising the "race issue" was serious business. The civil rights movement, which had been largely confined to the South, had begun to move to other parts of the country. There had been urban riots in Los Angeles's south central neighborhood of Watts in 1965, and between 1965 and 1968, there were three hundred riots in American cities. With seventy-five riots, the summer of 1967 proved to be the worst. It was clear to many that racism was an illness that affected the entire country and that there was no way to avoid dealing with it.[1]

Not only was the issue of race turning the country upside down and causing some to seriously question the myth of America as the melting pot, but the war in Vietnam had taken a dramatic turn. From slightly more than 16,000 troops at the time of the John Kennedy assassination in 1963, the U.S. commitment grew to more than 180,000 by the end of 1965 and peaked at just over 543,000 by 1969.[2] By the summer of 1966, the level of protest to the war had risen as sharply as troop strength in Vietnam. Reactions within the Episcopal Church reflected those in the broader society. Many members were troubled by the issues of justice denied, concerned about the growing war in Southeast Asia, and committed to change. Others hoped that the church would remain an island of conservative calm in an angry ocean of change.

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At the national level, the Episcopal Church committed its resources in new ways to the civil rights movement, and clergy rode buses into the South to work for integration. Dramatic changes took place within the denomination when the Right Reverend John Hines was elected presiding bishop, the head of the denomination. Hines, a social activist, would not let the church turn its head from the issues that confronted society and was the primary leader in the movement to reallocate funds from traditional denominational programs to daring initiatives for social change.[3] Additional tension occurred as the Episcopal Church entered into a period of liturgical reform; by 1967 the church had produced a trial form of worship that would replace the "sacred" 1928 *Book of Common Prayer*. For some members, this action was the last straw: "You can mess with a lot of things, but don't fool around with my Prayer Book!"[4] With all of these changes happening in a short period, the hope that the church would remain an island of calm faded. Membership and financial support suffered at the cathedral.

These were heady days for a young man to begin his ministry. I was twenty-four when I arrived in Kansas City. I was born and reared in Monett, Missouri, in the southwest corner of the state. Monett was a white town. Not even black porters working on the St. Louis-San Francisco (Frisco) Railroad were allowed to stay overnight and were made to sleep on the train. Though I did not know it as a boy, Monett kept a dirty secret hidden away in its collective memory. In 1894 a black man had been accused of killing a railroad worker and was subsequently lynched. The incident was the first in a series of violent actions that forced blacks to flee many small Missouri towns in the Ozarks. By 1901 southwest Missouri was becoming known as "white man's heaven." The word "Monettised" was created by a *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* reporter to describe this forced diaspora.[5] Not more than fifty years later, this incident was buried, and the only remnant was an insipid racism that pervaded the town.

I was in high school when the Supreme Court ruled against segregation in public schools in *Brown v. Board of Education*. I remember watching the television as all hell broke loose in Little Rock, Arkansas, in September 1957, when President Dwight Eisenhower sent in the National Guard and U.S. Army troops to calm things down as blacks tried to integrate the schools. My family sat at little TV trays each night at dinner time and watched the ugly scenes at Central High School. When rumors began to circulate in Monett that African Americans were planning to move into our town, panic set in. My father, who was on the school board and owned a café that catered to high school students, was beside himself. What was he going to do if blacks showed up at the school and wanted to enroll their children? Moreover, what if black kids came to his café and wanted service?

No blacks moved into Monett. The worriers had forgotten to ask the most important question: why would blacks want to move to Monett? There was no challenge to our school board, but the news of the day, coupled with the racial fears and prejudices of Monett, had raised the question of racism in a way we could no longer ignore.

Even more important to my own development was the arrival in our town of Pat Steele, a young social studies teacher and coach. Steele came from Little Rock, and he, more than anyone I had ever met, began to push me to see the world beyond Monett. He told us about Central High School because he had been there, and he taught us about the ugliness of racism—ugliness we could see in our own town if we only looked and listened.

My broader involvement in the life of the Episcopal Church also helped me grow up and prepare for later involvement in the 1968 riot in Kansas City. In 1955, I began going to summer youth conferences where I met other young people from around the Diocese of West Missouri. For the first time in my life, I met black people who had names—young people from St. Augustine's Church in Kansas City, the only black congregation in our diocese. Because of the intimacy of the setting—a group of Christian young people who were encouraged to be open about their experiences—these kids from Kansas City became my first civil rights teachers. They shared stories of the daily humiliations they faced—stories I had never heard before—certainly stories foreign to my own experience. What I saw was real pain on the faces of my new friends as they spoke about their lives.

During high school I read books written by Episcopal clergy. *Bigger Than Little Rock* by Robert R. Brown, the Episcopal bishop of Arkansas, provided a first-hand account of the events in Little Rock from 1954 to 1957; in *Light the Dark Streets*, the Rev. C. Kilmer Myers wrote of his street ministry in New York City.[6] I found myself being proud of my church for the first time. I had never thought about being proud of my church until then, but here it bravely stood at the heart of crises that affected the entire nation. Because I believed the words of my coach and social studies teacher, I believed that my church had been on the right side of the issues.

I entered Nashotah House Episcopal Seminary in Nashotah, Wisconsin, in 1963, the year of the Civil Rights March on Washington. A young black man in my class had been a part of that gathering and had heard Dr. Martin Luther King's "I Have a Dream" speech. Students in our seminary were set afire by the civil rights movement. We longed to be a part of this dramatic change we saw happening around us and anticipated our graduation with excitement.

The best thing to happen to me in 1966 was to be assigned by the Right Reverend Edward Welles, bishop of west Missouri, to Grace and Holy Trinity Cathedral. I cannot imagine what my life would have been like if the Very Reverend Donald Woodward, dean of the cathedral, had not been present at the beginning of my ministry. The dean allowed me to be involved in every aspect of the ministry there: calling on the sick and shut-in, calling on newcomers, preaching on a regular schedule, and inviting me to sit in on most committee meetings. More than anything, I was influenced by the dean's active role in social change.

In the fall of 1966, Dean Woodward asked me to work with him in organizing the first Metro/KC Conference, an amazing two-day gathering of

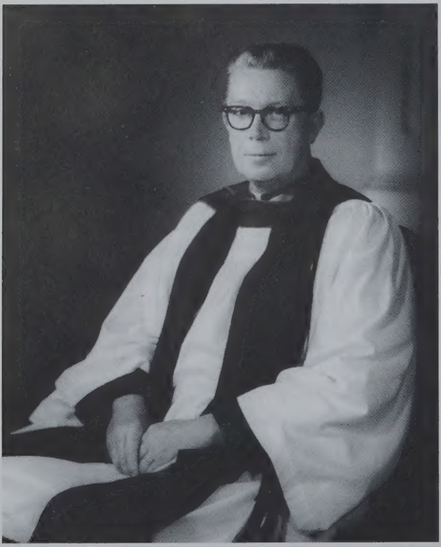
Grace and Holy Trinity Episcopal Cathedral serves as the cathedral church for the Diocese of West Missouri. [Custom Studios, courtesy Grace and Holy Trinity Cathedral Archives]

ecumenical religious leaders and representatives from the community. Blacks and whites, leaders and ordinary citizens came together to tell the truth to each other about their city and the needs found there. Honest about the community divisions along racial lines, they attempted to address the issues.

One of the most important results of that conference, at least for the church, was that leaders of the various judicatories realized that they had no effective vehicle for responding to the needs of the community and no effective device for communicating with one another. Largely because of the leadership of Welles, Woodward, and other denominational leaders, the Metropolitan Interchurch Agency was created. The agency was a dramatic restructuring of the old Kansas City Council of Churches, which had comprised only Protestant denominations. The new agency reached out to include the Roman Catholic Church. This organization brought together all the judicatories of the city, put them in touch with one another, committed money to the project, hired a staff, and began to effect change in the city and in the city's churches. The agency became active in organizing the fair housing movement in Kansas City and brought Saul Alinsky's Project Equality to town. Alinsky was a radical community organizer from Chicago, and Project Equality challenged the hiring practices in both business institutions and the churches. The Metropolitan Interchurch Agency became an important resource during the riots in 1968.

Grace and Holy Trinity Cathedral was also involved in the creation of St. Mark's Ecumenical Parish in 1968. This dream of the Rev. Ken Waterman, a Presbyterian minister, was spun out in Woodward's office, where the driving forces for a number of such projects originated. Most often participants arrived in his office in the late afternoon, where they consumed gallons of coffee and, in those days, attempted to see one another through the clouds of cigarette smoke that hung in the air. At times, the conversation became heated as some of the clergy disagreed on strategy. At other times, the group collapsed into hilarious laughter. Again, the dean gave me the privilege of attending. He certainly knew that I did not have anything to contribute, but I think he knew that I needed to be there—not for the good of the group but for my own good. And he was right. This twenty-five-year-old from the Ozarks had his eyes opened to the issues of urban life. I got the chance to listen as the issues of the day were discussed, and as a result, I had to ask myself questions about how my seminary education related to the world as I found it in Kansas City.

Rev. Donald Woodward
[Photo by Fabian Bachrach, courtesy Grace and Holy Trinity Cathedral Archives]



In many ways, all that came into focus for me during Holy Week in 1968. On April 4, 1968, the Thursday before Palm Sunday, Martin Luther King was murdered in Memphis, Tennessee. He was there supporting a strike by city garbage workers, and while standing on the balcony of the Lorraine Motel, he was shot dead. The country erupted in grief and violence. There was obvious tension in Kansas City as people worried that the violence happening in other cities might also happen there. And, of course, there was grieving as many in the community, both black and white, mourned the loss of a great leader. City officials and civil rights leaders made plans for a march to honor Dr. King on the following Sunday.[7]

On Palm Sunday, April 7, a beautiful, sunny day, the clergy and a large number of cathedral parishioners joined with as many as fifteen thousand other Kansas Citians in a peaceful march to grieve the death of King and to pray for reconciliation.

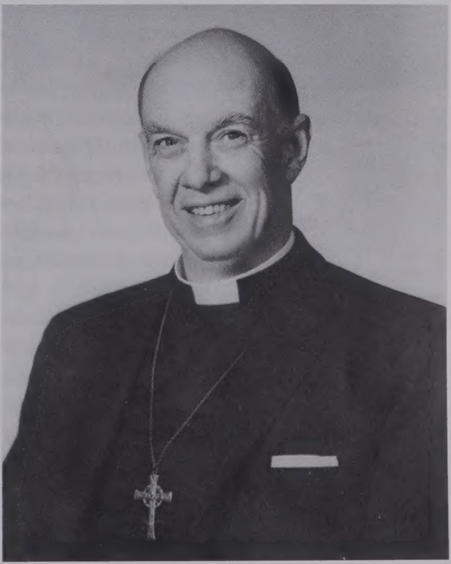
On more than one occasion, people in the streets and speakers from the platform congratulated themselves on the nonviolent nature of the march. It was as if spring itself were blessing us and our peaceful march by decorating our way with blooming trees and budding flowers. While other cities experienced riots in the streets, we proudly said, "Kansas City is different." Things would change.

On Monday, newscasters announced that Dr. King's funeral would be televised the next day, so the dean and the leadership of the Metropolitan Interchurch Agency organized a service at the cathedral for Tuesday morning. Because of the tension in the metropolitan area, the Kansas City, Kansas, school district cancelled classes so students could stay home to watch the funeral. The situation in Kansas City, Missouri, was quite different. Dr. James Hazlett, the superintendent of schools, talked with his staff during the weekend, decided he would not cancel school under any circumstances, and left town on a business trip on Sunday afternoon. Thus, classes in Kansas City, Missouri, remained open, with students expected to be in school.[8]

Dean Woodward and I organized the service on Tuesday morning, and it promised to be a major event attended by most of the clergy in the community and hundreds of laypeople. We did not know that while we were putting the last-minute touches on the service, large numbers of black students were leaving classes at Lincoln, Manual, and Central High Schools and demanding that they be allowed to go home to watch King's funeral on television. When school authorities rejected their request, the young people demanded that they be permitted to march to the Kansas City City Hall to protest. Not one single soul with the authority to cancel school was present in the city. The students' anger and frustration built; some ran through hallways in the schools kicking over trash cans. In some cases, school authorities called the police, and officers responded, spraying Mace on the students in a couple of situations. The news that classes would not be cancelled spread like wildfire as more and more kids left school and ran through the halls of other schools encouraging the students to join them. The kids poured out of the schools and into the streets.[9]

By then, the memorial service was in progress in the cathedral. I looked up to see an altar guild member frantically waving her hand at me and mouthing the words, "Emergency, emergency." When I entered the sacristy, she gave me a message for our Suffragan Bishop, Robert Spears. I got Bishop Spears, who got on the phone. A National Association for the Advancement of Colored People representative told him that unruly crowds of students were leaving schools and beginning to march toward downtown. He asked that the clergy gathered for the memorial service go immediately to the scene to try to organize the march and to attempt to "keep things cool." He told the bishop that some violence had already occurred and that he was worried that somebody would be hurt.[10]

We quickly brought the service to an end, and the clergy gathered to discuss what to do. There was worry and fear as we talked about our concerns. One group of clergy, including both our bishops, left for the city hall, the destination of the march, and many of the rest of us headed toward the marchers. Father Ed Warner, a black priest who was rector of St. Augustine's Episcopal Church, and I joined a crowd of students at Nineteenth Street and Prospect Avenue. Several clergy with us had a good deal of experience organizing marches, and they



Bishop Robert Spears
[Courtesy Grace and Holy Trinity Cathedral Archives]

quickly pulled the group together. The clergy, many of us dressed in clerical collars, locked arms and led as the march proceeded. The feeling was very different than it had been on Palm Sunday. Then, we had been proud of our city and the nonviolent way those in the march responded. Now, I felt fear and apprehension and also saw it in the eyes of more experienced clergy.

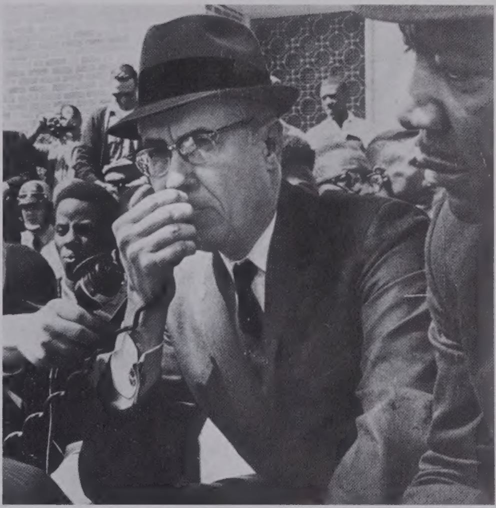
At each cross street, police cars screeched into position to block the group from straying from its course. The police stood silently watching, many of them already wearing gas masks. Although isolated incidents of violence occurred—on the part of students (stone throwing) and police (indiscriminate use of Mace on groups of students) alike—the march remained relatively peaceful until it reached Truman Road and Paseo, just a couple of miles from the city hall. The students had intended to continue downtown, but lines of police stopped them. What we did not know was that Clarence Kelley, the chief of police, had told his officers that the students would not be allowed to go any farther than Truman Road and Paseo.[11] Therefore, the tension on the part of the police as well as the crowd was intense, and the crowd pushed toward the line of officers, with many of the students angrily shouting. Obviously anticipating trouble, the police were fully dressed in riot gear. Many held rifles or cans of Mace, and police dogs strained at their leashes and growled fiercely.

[*Kansas City Star* photo, courtesy Ilus Davis Papers, WHMC-KC]

The confrontation at the Paseo confused and frightened us because it revealed the inadequacy of the city government's ability to respond to a crisis. The school board was a separate agency. The police department was governed by a state-appointed commission and was, therefore, not answerable to the mayor. Thus, the critical agencies had no coordination.

For example, Mayor Ilus Davis arrived in a police car. He was barraged with angry words from the moment he stepped out of the car, but if he was afraid, he did not show it. He spoke with the students, who demanded that they receive permission to march downtown. One of the young people asked why they were being stopped. "Is it because, Mr. Mayor, you want to keep the black problem in the black part of town? . . . Are you ashamed of us, Mr. Mayor? Is that why you keep us out here with your policemen and the clubs and the gas? We want to find out. We want to go downtown!"

A number of students and some of the clergy spoke to the mayor and to the crowds. A disc jockey from a local radio station said to the mayor, "Please, Mr. Mayor, . . . They'll listen to you. Take them downtown."[12] Mayor Davis (bravely, I thought) raised his hands over his head and said, "I'll march with you." As he began to say, "Up Paseo! Up Paseo!" two policemen grabbed him by the elbows, led him back to the police car, and said, "Mayor, you're not going anywhere." At that point all hell broke loose. Students jammed their way through police lines and ran down Interstate 70 toward downtown. The "march" had become a "run!"



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Top: *Mayor Ilus Davis* [Courtesy *Kansas City Star*]

Bottom: Clergy members flagged traffic as the marchers surged onto Interstate 70. [*Kansas City Star* photo, courtesy Ilus Davis Papers, WHMC-KC]

By this time, Bishop Spears had made his way to the chaos. He grabbed me and a couple of other ministers, and we ran up onto I-70 and down the center stripe of the highway, waving our arms to divert oncoming traffic. We were terrified that one of the cars speeding along the interstate would mow down a group of teenagers.

When the main body of the group arrived at the city hall a little after noon, leaders hastily organized a demonstration on the steps, and someone found a bullhorn for the speakers. Four hundred to five hundred students jammed together on the plaza between the city hall and the county courthouse. Father Warner and I, and some of the other clergy who had joined the march, stood in the crowd. We were exhausted by our long march downtown, exhausted by the fear we had felt as we saw the confrontation on the Paseo, and exhausted by running up and down I-70 attempting to stop traffic. We guessed that most in the crowd were as tired as we were.

As the speeches continued, a large number of police officers, sheriff's deputies, and state patrol officers, many in full riot gear, surrounded the crowd with increasing urgency. Father Warner and I began to worry that the escalated police presence would needlessly increase the tension, and we spoke to a couple of officers about removing the dogs and putting the guns out of sight. Things had begun to take on the air of a demonstration as speakers took the bullhorn; some of the young people recited a list of grievances from all that had happened that morning. A young black woman in her thirties, with tears streaming down her face, told the students they would gain nothing by burning and looting as others were doing in cities across the nation. It began to look as though the speakers were establishing order, although the numbers of police (men and dogs) continued to heighten the tension. When it seemed that most of the energy of the demonstration had drained out of the gathering, a local disc jockey announced that the students were welcome to go to Holy Name Roman Catholic parish, where there would be music and dancing. The applause and cheers almost took the paint off the black and white police cars!

Someone had arranged for a few city buses to transport the kids to the church; some decided to walk. I was relieved. The crisis was over—or so we thought. Father Warner and I joked that we certainly did not have any intention of walking to the church for the dance. Ed said, "I just bought this brand new pair of shoes, and they're not meant for marching. My feet are killing me!" We laughed, but our smiles did not last; at that precise moment, a riot began.

Maybe a student threw an empty bottle at the police line. Maybe it broke. Maybe an officer launched a tear-gas canister. An officer may have panicked and thrown a canister into the crowd with no provocation. Nobody ever knew.[13] Regardless of how the riot began, the police responded by throwing canister after canister of gas into the now-frantic crowd. When I heard the canisters pop, I thought, "My God, they're shooting these kids!" Students began running as police in riot helmets and plastic masks charged into the crowd with tear gas, Mace, dogs, and clubs.

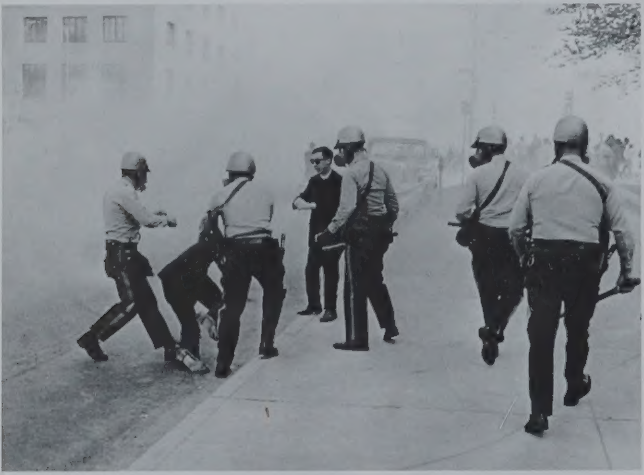
Warner and I turned to run. We had been standing in front of a group of police officers. They saw us. They knew we were clergy. We had spoken to some of them. But as they began moving toward us, we did not stay around. As I started running across the lawn in front of the courthouse, I realized that Ed was not with me. I turned back to see him being held by a police officer in a gas mask, who seemed to be searching him, and heard him say, "Wait a minute, I'm a priest of the church!" I ran over to join Ed as he tried to talk to the officer, but the policeman knocked him to the pavement with his club. Tear gas began to billow around us.

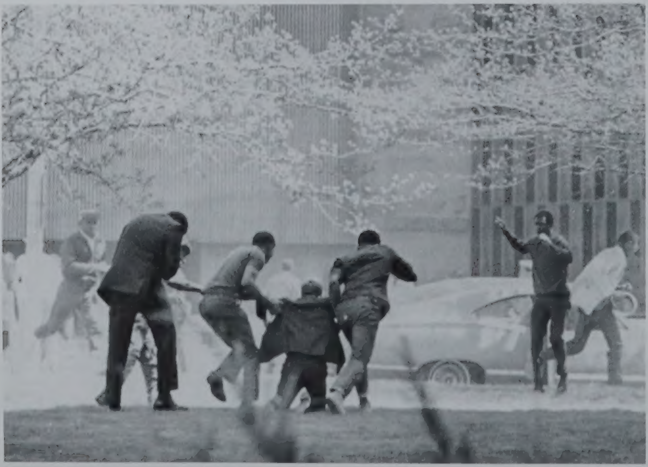
Two other officers grabbed me and struck me twice in the chest with a club. I went down like a rock. I tried to crawl away but was overcome by the tear gas. The next thing I heard was the voice of a young black man, who screamed, "Hey, a brother is down." About five young black men helped carry me to a parked car belonging to the WDAF television station. The cameraman helped them lay me in the back seat. As we sped off, he called back to me, "I'll take you to St. Luke's, but if you can make it, let's drive by Holy Name." I said yes even though I could barely breathe, and when I did, it hurt like hell.

At Holy Name Church, I witnessed something from that back seat that I will never forget. As many as four hundred kids had made it to the church and were dancing in the basement. As we watched, police units surrounded the church, blocked the wooden basement doorways so that no one could get out of the building, and then began to throw tear gas through the squat little basement windows. I can still hear the screams of the kids trapped inside the church. It was a horrible scene.[14]

At St. Luke's Hospital, I was treated for cracked ribs and taped up. I did not get back to the cathedral until mid-afternoon. By then it had become a sort of command center to

Fly went to the aid of Ed Warner. Moments later, bystanders helped Fly after he was struck and overcome by the tear gas.
[*Kansas City Star* photos, courtesy Ilus Davis Papers, WHMC-KC]





keep track of developments in the city. Dean Woodward called me into a meeting. By this time, news reports on the day's events included stories of two clergymen who had been beaten by police. The dean said, "I don't want to frighten you, but we've received threatening calls to the cathedral since the reports came out." My life and the lives of my family had been threatened. Nothing like this had ever happened to me, and I was filled with fear for my wife and three young daughters. The dean assured me they were fine and that a couple in the congregation was providing a place for them to sleep that evening. I called my parents in Monett to arrange for my family to spend the rest of the week there, and they left the next day. The dean had already arranged for a room for me at the motel across the street from the cathedral.

Later in the day, I, along with many of the clergy and others who had witnessed the scene that morning, appeared on a live television show aired by all the stations in town. We told our stories, which were pretty raw and fresh, about what we had seen and experienced that morning.

Grace and Holy Trinity remained busy that day and for the next four days. The violence in the city increased as students returned home to their neighborhoods and told of what had happened to them. By Tuesday night, burning and looting had occurred in some parts of town. The mayor established a 7:00 p.m. curfew, and police arrested many blacks who violated it. The jails filled, and the Metropolitan Interchurch Agency arranged for some churches to handle the overflow. The dean borrowed cots from the Salvation Army across the street and opened the doors of the cathedral to house some of those who had been arrested. While we were not a jail, we provided asylum so that these young people and others would be safe for the night and not be re-arrested. The Salvation Army provided bologna sandwiches. I have never eaten bologna again because of the memories associated with it!

Staff and volunteers from the Metropolitan Interchurch Agency arrived to take statements from the young people about their treatment by the police. The agency provided volunteer clergy to act as "watchers" at every police precinct to protect those arrested as well as the police from charges of abuse. The cathedral remained open twenty-four hours a day for the next four days as the violence in the streets intensified and before it finally settled. In those four days, six blacks died at the hands of the police, and many more were injured.[15]

During Holy Week of 1968, I saw the church at its best and at its worst. At times I was reminded of those days in the mid-fifties when the events in Little Rock shocked my little town into recognizing issues that it had never taken seriously. I also saw members of Grace and Holy Trinity bravely confront the issues of racism and call for change. Kansas City and the religious community came of age concerning the issues of racism in a way they had not before. We could not avoid them any longer.

As a young man of twenty-six, I found myself at the center of a controversy about the role of the church and its clergy in bringing about social change. One group of men, offended by my actions, stood up and walked out each Sunday I preached after Holy Week. Many others were wonderfully supportive and held me up through all this. One of the people I am most grateful to is Bishop Spears, who was named interim dean of the cathedral after Dean Woodward left for Trinity Parish in New York City shortly after the riots. Spears was incredibly supportive to a young man who, at times, wondered what had just happened to him! He listened; he cared; he taught me how to remain a pastor in the midst of a very tumultuous time.

Creativity blossomed out of the events of Holy Week, 1968. In an address to the diocesan convention a month later, Bishop Welles called for the development of a study program for implementing the Kerner Commission report in predominately white areas. Just three months earlier, in February 1968, that commission, appointed by President Lyndon Johnson to study the racial situation in our country, concluded that America was headed toward two societies: one white and one black.[16]

Kansas City/Crisis developed in response to Bishop Welles's challenge. Begun at meetings at the cathedral under the direction of Father John Lembcke of Trinity Church, Independence, it brought together city blacks and suburban whites across denominational lines in a forum in which people could speak freely about their personal experiences with racism. In many ways, Kansas City/Crisis provided other people my boyhood experience in the Episcopal summer conference program—seeing people and hearing the pain as one America spoke to the other. The crisis program continued in Kansas City for several years and was a model used by other cities.

A young black social worker named Bob Jones was instrumental in helping us develop this program. I remember saying to him, "Bob, you're not a churchman. Why do you spend so much time helping us create a program like this?" He replied, "David, I believe a time is coming in our country when people will no longer have a forum in which they can speak civilly to one another. The church will be the only place where dialogue can take place. That's why I care so much about this program."

Many years later, I have come to know the wisdom of Jones's words. I have seen the church be the forum in which widely divergent views can be expressed. When I worry that this may be changing, I hold his vision before me.

NOTES

1. For an overview of the civil rights movement, see Joe R. Feagin and Harlan Hahn, *Ghetto Revolts: The Politics of Violence in American Cities* (New York: Macmillan, 1973), or Steven F. Lawson, *Civil Rights Crossroads: Nation, Community, and the Black Freedom Struggle* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2003).

2. James S. Olson, ed., *Dictionary of the Vietnam War* (New York: Greenwood, 1988), 549, 551, 556.

3. Gardiner H. Shattuck Jr., *Episcopalians and Race: Civil War to Civil Rights* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2000), 175-186.

4. Ruth A. Meyers and Phoebe Pettingell, eds., *Gleanings: Essays on Expansive Language with Prayers for Various Occasions* (New York: Church Publishing, 2001), 43-61.

5. *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, 25 August 1901, 1.

6. Robert R. Brown, *Bigger than Little Rock* (Greenwich, CT: Seabury Press, 1958); C. Kilmer Myers, *Light the Dark Streets* (Greenwich, CT: Seabury Press, 1957).

7. David R. Hardy, *Mayor's Commission on Civil Disorder: Final Report* (Kansas City: Mayor's Commission on Civil Disorder, 1968), 10.

8. Ibid., 11, 12.

9. Joel P. Rhodes, "It Finally Happened Here: The 1968 Riot in Kansas City, Missouri," *Missouri Historical Review* 91 (April 1997): 295-315.

10. The Right Rev. Robert Rae Spears, personal statement, dictated on 9 April 1968, Archives, Grace and Holy Trinity Episcopal Cathedral, Kansas City, Missouri.

11. Hardy, *Mayor's Commission*, 17.

12. *Kansas City Star*, 5 May 1968, 15.

13. Hardy, *Mayor's Commission*, 20.

14. *The New People*, 19 April 1968, 9.

15. *Kansas City Star*, 5 May 1968, 16.

16. *Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1968).

From the Stacks:
Western Historical Manuscript Collection-Rolla

H. A. Guess Letterbooks, Federal Lead Company, Flat River, Mo., 1907-1913

MARK C. STAUTER*

Located on the campus of the former Missouri School of Mines and Metallurgy, the Western Historical Manuscript Collection-Rolla has as an important part of its mission the documentation of the Show Me State's mining heritage. While this effort has included the acquisition of the archives of such major Missouri-based enterprises as the St. Joe Minerals Corporation and the American Zinc, Lead, and Smelting Company, WHMC-Rolla's holdings also contain invaluable smaller collections, often fragmentary in nature, that illuminate particular places, events, and personalities in a historically significant manner. Such are the letterbooks of H. A. Guess, manager of the Federal Lead Company's operations at Flat River in St. Francois County from 1907 to 1913.

An ancillary of the Guggenheim mineral empire through the American Smelters Security Company and its American Smelting and Refining Company subsidiary, the Federal Lead Company during the early twentieth century found itself in a fierce competitive struggle with the long-established St. Joseph Lead Company at Bonne Terre, as well as the Doe Run, Desloge, and National operations in the region known as Missouri's Lead Belt. With a newly constructed physical plant (now the Missouri Mines State Historic Site in Park Hills), Federal was poised to become a major, and highly profitable, player in the industry.

Federal Mine, Flat River, Mo. [WHMC-Rolla]

Harry Adelbert "H. A." Guess was born in Ontario, Canada, in 1875. After earning a master's degree from Queen's University in Kingston, he came to the United States in 1901 to work for the Guggenheim interests as a mining engineer. When the letterbooks begin in the summer of 1907, Guess is a milling superintendent, monitoring operations in Colorado, Mexico, and the new Federal mill at Flat River. Within a year, he had moved full-time to Missouri and was managing Federal's entire mining and milling enterprise in the Lead Belt, as well as directing activities in the Tri-State District near Joplin. The seventeen volumes, bound chronologically, contain only carbon copies of Guess's outgoing correspondence, but the thousands of letters provide a candid and unguarded peek at the inner workings of an important early twentieth-century industrial complex.

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*Mark Stauter is associate director of the Western Historical Manuscript Collection-Rolla.

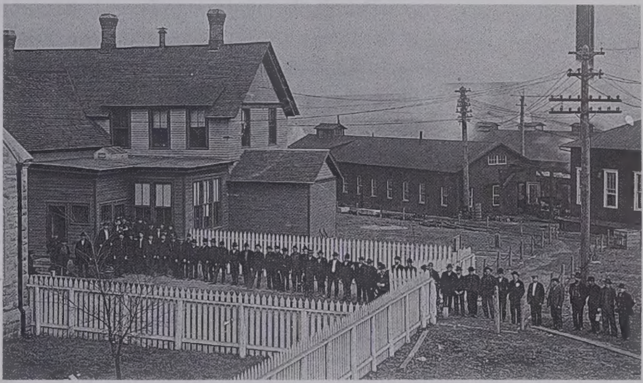
Guess reported regularly to his superiors at the Guggenheim headquarters in New York, summarizing activities in all areas of the operation in Missouri, including production, profits, exploration, development, and methodology. Of particular interest are his frank assessments of labor relations, environmental pollution, and business conditions. For the convenience of researchers, shelf lists and indexes of addressees have been compiled for each volume.

Labor and social historians will find rich ore to mine within these pages. Throughout the period, Guess had to deal with labor unrest and ethnic animosities. The Western Federation of Miners (WFM) was tireless in its efforts to unionize the workers, just as the companies were determined to prevent it. Federal conspired with competing firms to hold down wages, but Guess was constantly suspicious of the closely aligned St. Joe and Doe Run companies, which acted together and led the way on most pay increases. After what Guess characterized as the WFM's attempts at "nursing and magnifying their imaginary grievances," the workers staged a successful districtwide work stoppage in 1913, resulting in a twenty-five-cent per day wage increase but not an official recognition of the union.

Another labor problem with which Guess had to cope was the recruitment of unskilled workers for a labor-intensive, dangerous, and often brutally exhausting industry. For the most physically demanding, and lowest paid, underground position, that of "shoveler," Federal imported laborers from eastern Europe. "We want . . . Hungarians, Poles, Slavs, or Austrians to shovel in mines," Guess wrote. "No other breed will do here. . . . We have found the Bulgarians about the most satisfactory." Federal retained the Rev. T. S. Bagranoff of the First Bulgarian Mission at Madison, Illinois, to supply the workers and to tend to their religious needs. Guess bluntly told Bagranoff that his job was to "keep us supplied with sufficient men and in general maintain a happy community."

Federal Mill, Flat River, Mo. [WHMC-Rolla]

The employment of immigrants was not without problems. Nativist feelings were strong among the "American" workers, and tensions reached a boiling point during the winter of 1911. On the night of February 6, in a bloody rehearsal for the more celebrated Lead Belt riots of 1917, "a gang of Americans shot up one of the foreign boarding houses . . . killing one and seriously wounding another who will likely die." Guess responded by having some Federal employees deputized and posting them as "guards at our different foreign villages at night." While Doe Run lost 90 percent of its foreign-born shovelers to the intimidation, Federal utilized six "night squads" to protect its laborers, and production continued unabated. Although twenty tons per eight-hour shift was "considered a day's work" for a shoveler, Federal hoped to reward those who could produce thirty tons with bonuses. The WFM strenuously opposed this "raising the task," but Guess determined to work "through some of the foreign priests, who have considerable influence . . . to get them to look at things in a sensible way." But just in case, Guess sent "a man down south from here in the villages and rural districts along the Iron Mountain R.R., to gather in such American labor as one may find them unemployed and willing to shovel underground."



Men Standing in Line Outside the St. Joseph Lead Company on Payday, ca. 1906 [SHSMO 027061]

Environmental historians will likewise find Guess's letterbooks to be a rich vein for research. Extractive industries like lead mining can be ecologically destructive, especially when legal safeguards are lacking. Much of the Lead Belt is drained by the Big River, and the companies' practice of disposing of "chat" and "slime" from the mines and mills in open piles and uncontained dumps was potentially hazardous to the fields, towns, and residents downstream. In the spring of 1911, Federal and the other firms active in the region began a long legal struggle with the Big River Farmers' Protective Association, whose members claimed that their herds were being harmed by the polluted nature of the Big River and its tributaries. Represented legally by future Congressman Clyde Williams of Hillsboro, the farmers' association demanded compensation for the damages inflicted by the mining companies.

Guess protested that Federal was the least of the offenders, claiming that its "final discharge, after passing also over canvas to remove all material that might be deleterious to farm lands, was a very small bulk indeed and consisted of nothing practically but powdered lime stone." Nevertheless, Federal took the lead position for the defendants in the resulting lawsuit, *Frederick R. B. Steinment vs. Federal Lead Co., et al.* In the summer of 1912, the defendants' attorneys successfully effected a change of venue to Poplar Bluff in Butler County, where the potential jurors would be less likely to harbor ill will against the rich and powerful mining and milling firms. Farmers made new allegations of stock dying from lead poisoning in the spring of 1913, and initial arguments in the trial were made in June 1913. Along with "old residents who could testify in our behalf as to their experience with live stock, grain growing, etc., along the slime branch without injury therefrom," Guess himself testified as an expert witness for the defense. The case was carried over to the October term of the court, by which time Guess had moved on to new assignments and the letterbooks had been discontinued. The case invites study as a pioneer legal challenge to alleged polluters in Missouri.[1]

Despite the problems and difficulties encountered by H. A. Guess during his tenure at Flat River, his efforts brought economic success to the Federal Lead Company. In June 1909, he boasted that, under his leadership, the plant's operations "have had pretty good luck in getting costs down . . . and production up." By late 1912, Federal's "net profit" was over $100,000 per month, representing "a greater yearly profit than the combined yearly profit of the whole Joplin district." When a new state law required public filing of an "annual report of operations" just before the strike in August 1913, Guess failed to comply since the "penalty for late filing is only $10, . . . and the 38.65% dividend as shown on the report is a bad looking thing for us . . . just now."

Despite being a tough businessman, Guess also had a human side. Included in the books are his letters about the purchase and maintenance of an automobile, making arrangements for his family to escape Missouri's summer heat by sending them to Mackinac Island, and his personal interests in mines in western Canada and the United States. And when he was forced to appoint a new mill superintendent at Flat River, he did so but said, "I would prefer to take a young man from Rolla."

NOTES

[1] For further information about *Steinment vs. Federal*, see Bob Faust, "Lead in the Water: Power, Progressivism, and Resource Control in a Missouri Mining Community," *Agricultural History* 76 (Spring 2002): 405-418.

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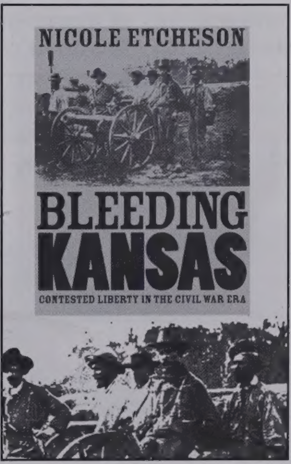
Securing the future for Missouri's past

Book Reviews

Bleeding Kansas: Contested Liberty in the Civil War Era. By Nicole Etcheson (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2004). xiv + 370 pp. Illustrations. Notes. Bibliography. Index. $35.00.

Throughout Memorial Day weekend 2004, the Stars and Stripes hung from front porches while picnics and barbecues competed with patriotic observances. Media outlets focused attention on the bicentennial of Lewis and Clark and the upcoming 60th anniversary of D-Day. Lost amid the hoopla was the 150th anniversary of the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, an event that ultimately impacted Americans more than the 1804 voyage of the Corps of Discovery or the invasion of Normandy during World War II. President Franklin Pierce signed the Kansas-Nebraska Act on May 30, 1854. The consequent breakdown of the American political system over popular sovereignty and the issue of slavery brought a civil war that redefined the nation.



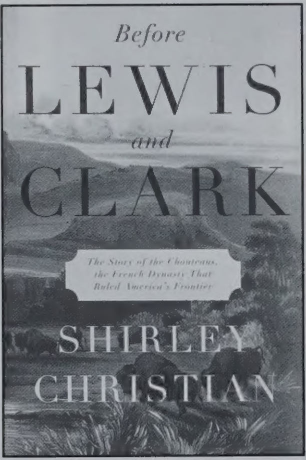
Initially a reference to events during the summer of 1856, the term "Bleeding Kansas" is often used more loosely to describe the entire period between 1854 and 1860. Although overshadowed by the Civil War, this era is the subject of increasingly excellent scholarship, as evidenced by the recent studies by historians Gary L. Cheatham, Gunja SenGupta, Kristen Tegtmeier, Dale E. Watts, and the late Bill Cecil-Fronsman, to name but a very few. Nicole Etcheson adds significantly to this growing body of important work with *Bleeding Kansas: Contested Liberty in the Civil War Era.*

As her subtitle indicates, Etcheson focuses on how different understandings and aspirations in relation to liberty came into conflict in Kansas. Acknowledging but downplaying the physical violence that occurred, she finds few outright heroes or villains and much irony. She places slavery at the center of her study, not in terms of ideology, but in the way the slavery issue illuminated differing conceptions of liberty among whites. With abolitionists in a minority in Kansas, the free-state cause drew its greatest support from whites determined to maintain the principles of majority rule against proslavery usurpations. While "Northerners emphasized choice at the ballot box as essential to republican freedom, Southerners did not accept the primacy of majority rule if it threatened established rights to hold slaves or the order that kept the much feared black insurrections at bay" (p. 3). Etcheson also argues that although a "deep moral objection to slavery never animated the free-state movement," over time—and particularly after John Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry in 1859—"the free-state movement increasingly embraced the cause of black rights as its own" (p. 217).

Etcheson's work is thoughtful and well written, based on a thorough exploration of primary and secondary sources. Because she summarizes complex political and military events in order to focus on the theme of liberty, *Bleeding Kansas* rewards readers already familiar with this period more than those encountering it for the first time. She makes a convincing case regarding the views of proslavery advocates and free-staters in relation to liberty for whites, but her contention that a significant number of free-staters embraced an expanded definition of liberty for blacks is underdeveloped. Equally weak and remarkably brief is her discussion of the postwar Black Exodusters and how "the memory of Kansas as sanctified to black liberty persisted among southern blacks" (p. 250). This might better have been left for a separate study. Such shortcomings do not prevent *Bleeding Kansas* from being a welcome addition to the scholarship of Kansas and the coming of the Civil War. The book deserves a wide readership.

William Garrett Piston
Missouri State University

Before Lewis and Clark: The Story of the Chouteaus, the French Dynasty That Ruled America's Frontier. By Shirley Christian (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2004). ix + 509 pp. Illustrations. Map. Notes. Index. $27.00.


Before
LEWIS
and
CLARK
The Story of the Chouteaus, the French Dynasty That Ruled America's Frontier
SHIRLEY
CHRISTIAN

With this work, author Shirley Christian walks a fine line. On one hand, taking advantage of the public's fascination with the Lewis and Clark Expedition bicentennial celebration, she attempts to create a popular historical narrative with widespread appeal. On the other, with meticulous research and an eye for detail, she labors to construct an historical monograph of interest and benefit for professional historians.

At first glance, the result may not immediately please every reader. For instance, the main title, the same as an earlier edited two-volume work of documents by A. P. Nasatir, might lead some readers to believe that the work will concentrate on the years before 1804, a belief the first chapter fails to correct. And though there are citations of a sort, perhaps to please general readers, there are no superscripted numbers in the text or a bibliography. Christian put in an impressive amount of research on this work, intensively mining archives in St. Louis and Kansas City. A few extra pages of bibliography would have added to the book's worth, not detracted from its readability.

While the illustrated plates are a welcome addition, the book would have benefited greatly from a few maps, especially to illustrate the growth of St. Louis, to which the Chouteaus and their ever growing extended family and circle of friends and associates certainly contributed. The one map, in the front matter of the book, while helpful, should have been supplemented in the text with others, which would have helped readers visually orient the vast holdings and extent of the Chouteau empire.

But, of course, few books are perfect. Those readers who look beyond the first unappreciative glance will be rewarded. Christian, a Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist, writes in a fluid, pleasing style that, as the subtitle indicates, tells a riveting tale of the Chouteau family. This important French family may not have "ruled America's frontier," but they and their intricate web of extended family and associates managed to place themselves at the center of western settlement and development. Though Christian uncovers little that other historians have not known and written about previously, she manages to synthesize the story of over a century of expansion in this one-volume work, with the Chouteaus providing the centerpiece for her story. Christian details how the French, Spanish, Native American, and Anglo-American worlds blended together to produce a new culture: that of the trans-Mississippi West. The story is informative and interesting enough to keep the attention of a vast scope of readers.

Though her admiration for the Chouteaus is evident, Christian does not overly glamorize the family. They embraced slavery but, in the end, became Union supporters. French-Catholic Chouteau men often took Indian lovers and sired numerous offspring while professing the deepest love for their wives and sweethearts back home. To their credit, they usually acknowledged the offspring, though not "flaunting" the relationships in polite society.

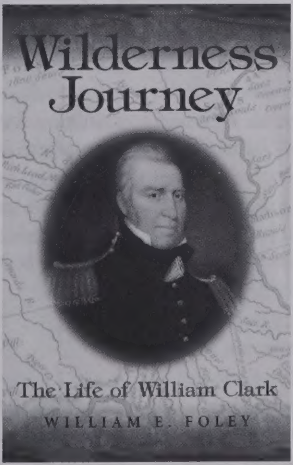
And of course, with their numerous connections, they amassed power and fortune that few of their time could match. But as Christian points out, "Their rewards were greater, but they shared the financial risks and also the personal risks of those lower down in the structure of the business" (p. 423). Their business was the fur trade, which "depleted North America of much of its first great resource, its wildlife" (p. 422).

With unfaltering persistence, each generation of the family labored to widen its contacts, expand its holdings, and maintain its position as one of the elite families of the growing St. Louis. Though never forgetting to look out for themselves, the Chouteaus tried to treat all of their trading partners fairly, even the unruly Osage, often to the chagrin of U.S. policymakers. The Chouteaus may have prospered because of their dealings with Native Americans, but for a time, compromise was a reality. Thus, ultimately, to Christian, the chief contribution of the "practical" Chouteaus "was the ability to live and do business peaceably with Indians. . . . What remained after the Chouteaus no longer played a mediating role was a confrontational attitude, on both sides" (p. 435).

In spite of a few drawbacks, Christian manages successfully to navigate between Scylla and Charybdis, in this case producing a book detailed enough for historians while appealing to a more general audience. Staying true to the dictates of professional, objective research, she managed to produce a fine work with commercial potential. In this case, compromise is successful. The Chouteaus would be proud.

James Fox
University of Missouri-Columbia

Wilderness Journey: The Life of William Clark. By William E. Foley (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2004). xiv + 326 pp. Illustrations. Maps. Notes. Bibliography. Index. $29.95.



William Clark considered himself a giving man who often did not get the credit or respect he deserved. As a result, Clark might not have been surprised that for all the interest generated by the bicentennial of the Lewis and Clark Expedition and several recent biographies of Clark, he often continues to disappear in the shadow of Meriwether Lewis.

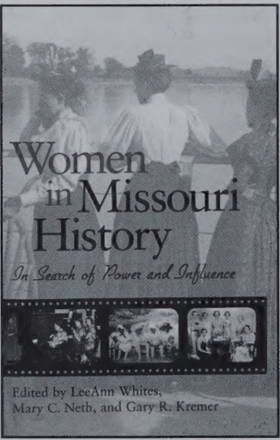
William Foley's *Wilderness Journey* goes a long way toward redressing this state of affairs by providing a compelling portrait of Clark's private life and public career. While the appetite for the Lewis and Clark Expedition justifies Foley's extensive account of that well-trodden terrain, the true revelations emerge from his analysis of the years before and after the 1804-1806 journey of exploration. Foley chronicles how the Clark family, like so many from Virginia's lesser gentry, struggled to make themselves planters in Kentucky in the 1780s. Foley also does a fine job situating Clark's career in the United States Army during the 1790s within the broader context of the federal government's effort to secure racial supremacy in the Midwest. Clark's later career is no less fascinating. A territorial governor in Missouri from 1813 until statehood in 1820 and an Indian agent from 1807 to his death in 1838, Clark orchestrated the orderly settlement of whites and the equally orderly eviction of Indians. Along the way, Clark built a large family and endured the sadness of outliving two wives and three of his seven children.

For all his travels, Clark emerges as a man who never really left the Virginia of his childhood. Eager to be a republican patrician like Virginia's other warrior statesmen, Clark either rejected or never really grasped the realities of nineteenth-century democracy. More importantly, *Wilderness Journey* captures revealing linkages between the worlds of white politics, interracial negotiation, and family life. More than anything, Clark hoped to look after others, and nothing made him angrier than his belief that others failed to appreciate his largesse. This singular attitude explains his generosity with friends and family but also his inability to understand why his slave York demanded his freedom or his shock when the people of Missouri rejected his aloof political style in the first gubernatorial election after statehood or his rage with Indian chiefs like Black Hawk who refused to quietly accept forced removal.

The strengths of Foley's book reflect his thorough research and subtle reading of the documentary record. Indeed, the one weakness of the book is Foley's decision to opt for a straightforward biographical narrative given his mastery of sources that provide the means to make sense of some of the most important questions in political culture and racial dynamics during the early American republic. But if Foley has chosen not to ask those questions, he has certainly provided the means for others to do so. Scholars will find that *Wilderness Journey* provides a strong foundation for any project on the West in the early American republic. Meanwhile, Foley has provided general readers with an engaging account of one of the most important figures of his era and a compelling narrative of life on the frontiers of North America.

Peter J. Kastor
Washington University

Women in Missouri History: In Search of Power and Influence. Edited by LeeAnn Whites, Mary C. Neth, and Gary R. Kremer (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2004). vii + 275 pp. Notes. Bibliography of Secondary Works. Index. $24.95, paper.


Women
in Missouri
History
In Search of Power and Influence
Edited by LeeAnn Whites,
Mary C. Neth, and Gary R. Kremer

With a handful of notable exceptions—Jessie Benton Frémont and Susan Blow, among others—women were too long absent from Missouri history books and, indeed, from other state histories as well. When they did appear, as in the case of Jessie Frémont, they often drew their significance largely from the position of their husbands, such as soldier and explorer John C. Frémont, or fathers, such as U.S. Senator Thomas Hart Benton. Thus, it was the "influence" of these women on powerful men that allowed them to emerge from the "invisibility" of most women, who remained in the background as wives and mothers of ordinary citizens.

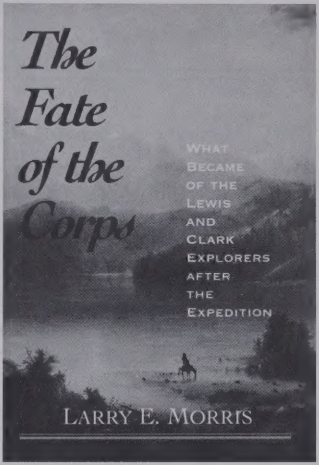
So argue LeeAnn Whites and Mary C. Neth, both associate professors of history at the University of Missouri–Columbia, in the introduction to their book, *Women in Missouri History: In Search of Power and Influence*, a collection of fourteen essays, written by various authors, that they compiled and edited in conjunction with Gary R. Kremer, professor of history at William Woods University at the time and now executive director of The State Historical Society of Missouri. But Whites and Neth also say that they depart from the path of many historians who see women's story as a victory march into the "limelight of 'power,'" thanks to better education that allowed them—as educator Susan Blow did—to "move from their privatized domestic status into ever-wider forms of waged labor." Rather, they say, "we also want to document the ways in which power has remained elusive for women, the ways women continue to search for power, perhaps more often than they acquire it" (p. 5).

The essays they chose are well edited, well researched, and remarkably diverse, covering a broad span of history, from the colonial period through the mid-twentieth century, and cutting a wide geographic swath through Missouri. They also depict women of various ethnicities and backgrounds: Catholic and Jewish, African American and Caucasian, German and French, slaves and slaveholders, middle class and prostitutes. In one essay, historian Gregg Andrews describes the tragic fate of Euphemia Koller, declared insane and confined to a mental institution in 1927, after a dispute with a cement company over the forced sale of land she co-owned near Hannibal. In another, historian Virginia Laas sketches the fascinating life of Emily Newell Blair, suffragist and Democratic Party activist. Still another, by Emory University doctoral candidate Diane Mutti Burke, gives an interesting account of the highly personal relations between slaves and their mistresses in antebellum Missouri.

Inevitably, with a topic as ambitious as this one, certain aspects of women's lives are not fully reflected here: for example, the state's rich and growing history of women in political life. Perhaps that points to my underlying quibble with this book—its failure to do justice to the extraordinary progress that women have made. Of course, American women are still searching for full historical recognition and an end to any form of discrimination or "glass ceiling." But look at the numbers of women in law and medical classes, in teaching positions such as the ones that these authors occupy. What on earth would Emily Blair say if she could see Missouri women today?

Candace O'Connor
Independent Scholar, St. Louis

The Fate of the Corps: What Became of the Lewis and Clark Explorers After the Expedition. By Larry E. Morris (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004). xviii + 284 pp. Illustrations. Map. Notes. Bibliography. Index. $30.00.


The Fate of the Corps
What Became of the Lewis and Clark Explorers after the Expedition
Larry E. Morris

Among the spate of recent books spawned by the Lewis and Clark bicentennial, some of the most consequential volumes focus on pre- and post-expeditionary happenings. A noteworthy example is Larry Morris's engaging account of the lives of members of the Corps of Discovery following their return from the Pacific. Given all the attention that has been heaped on America's pioneering scientific expedition, it is remarkable how little was known about the post-expeditionary careers of this legendary band.

Happily, thanks to Morris's painstaking and exhaustive research in out-of-the-way archives, major portions of those gaps have now been filled. His discoveries of informative and revealing new historical tidbits allow him to create a series of well-crafted vignettes detailing interesting episodes from the storied lives of his fabled cast. A skillful storyteller, Morris transforms what might have become a mundane roster of biographical sketches into a lively series of essays that weave together the comings and goings of expedition members during their later years.

Not surprisingly, more than a few of the expedition's veterans returned to the wilderness as soldiers, hunters, and trappers, and Morris recounts many of their daring adventures. John Colter's early sightings of Yellowstone's natural wonders, later dubbed "Colter's Hell," and his dramatic escape from Blackfeet captors who had stripped him naked have become staples in western American lore, but he was not alone in experiencing peril. George Shannon, who lived out his final days practicing law in Missouri, lost a leg from injuries he sustained when the Arikaras attacked the military escort assigned to return the Mandan chief Sheheke-Shote to his tribe. John Collins, John Potts, and the legendary George Drouillard were less fortunate and died at the hands of Indian foes, a fate that they and their comrades had successfully avoided during their lengthy trek to the Pacific and back. Other members of the corps lived on to witness the discovery of gold in California and the American Civil War. Ironically, one of the expedition's oldest members, Patrick Gass, was the final survivor. He died at the age of ninety-eight in 1870.

After carefully surveying the confusing circumstances and conflicting accounts surrounding Meriwether Lewis's untimely death, Morris comes down on the side of those who believe that the expedition's co-leader took his own life. In another essay he explores the controversy surrounding the fate of Sacagawea and concludes that she died at Fort Manuel in present-day South Dakota in 1812. His account also incorporates essential facts about her husband, Toussaint Charbonneau, and their son, Jean Baptiste, known to Clark as Pompey. A chapter devoted to York explores the sordid and tragic tale of relations between Clark and his slave in the years following the expedition.

Morris confines his study to the thirty-three permanent members of the Pacific expedition, and one only wishes that he had chosen to include the mixed-blood engagés and other temporary members of the party. That minor quibble aside, this book is a must read for all Lewis and Clark aficionados. Students of Missouri history will likewise savor its contents given the many connections with their state.

William E. Foley
Central Missouri State University

Book Notes

A Pictorial History of Pleasant Hill, Missouri. (Pleasant Hill, MO: Pleasant Hill Historical Society, 2004). 121 pp. Illustrations. $39.00, plus $4.00 shipping.

Featuring photographs from the Pleasant Hill Historical Society's collection dating from the 1860s, this book visually documents the Cass County town's history and families. To obtain a copy, contact the Pleasant Hill Historical Society, P.O. Box 31, Pleasant Hill, MO 64080.

Osage Indian Customs and Myths. By Louis F. Burns (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2005). 230 pp. Illustrations. Index. $19.95, paper.

Originally self-published in 1984, this book offers an in-depth look at Osage Indian culture. It contains several drawings of traditional Osage haircuts, dress, and crafts and includes an eight-page color insert of tribal designs.

George Caleb Bingham: Missouri's Famed Painter and Forgotten Politician. By Paul C. Nagel (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2005). xviii + 161 pp. Illustrations. Index. $19.95, paper.

In this biography, Paul Nagel discusses George Caleb Bingham's career as an artist as well as his lesser-known life as a statesman and political leader. It includes color illustrations of many of Bingham's works, including *Horse Thief*, a landscape recently attributed to the artist.

Malindy's Freedom: The Story of a Slave Family. By Mildred Johnson and Theresa Delsoin (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society, 2005). 215 pp. Illustrations. Bibliography. $29.95.

Mildred Johnson and Theresa Delsoin tell the story of their great-grandmother Malindy, a Cherokee who was unlawfully enslaved as a child by a Franklin County, Missouri, farmer. The authors flesh out the story passed down through their family with historical data from census records and other primary and secondary sources.

Missouri's Silver Age: Silversmiths of the 1800s. By Norman Mack (Carbondale: University of Illinois Press, 2005). 169 pp. Illustrations. $55.00.

With over one hundred detailed biographies and illustrations, this book is a comprehensive directory of nineteenth-century Missouri silversmiths, their works, and their makers' marks.

Nevada and Vernon County's Heritage, 1855-2005: "Pass It On," Volumes 1 and 2 (Nevada, MO: Vernon County Sesquicentennial History Book Committee, 2005). 856 pp. Illustrations. Index. $110.00 for both volumes.

This two-volume set covers the history of Nevada and Vernon County, Missouri, from the pioneer days to the present. It includes chapters on the early county, towns, and businesses as well as chapters on the area's churches, schools, organizations, agriculture, families, and the present state of the county. To purchase the books, contact the Bushwhacker Museum at 212 Walnut, Nevada, MO 64772, or (417) 667-9602.

Satchel Paige's America. By William Price Fox (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2005). 142 pp. $16.95, paper.

In the 1970s, William Price Fox spent a week shadowing retired pitcher Leroy "Satchel" Paige throughout Kansas City in preparation for a *Holiday* magazine article. He left with enough material to write a book about the colorful Hall of Famer. Written in first-person, this book captures Paige's personality, speech style, and stories about baseball, moonshining, traveling minstrel shows, barnstorming, and growing up poor and black in the segregated South.

From Prairie Farmer to Entrepreneur: The Transformation of Midwestern Agriculture. By Dennis S. Nordin and Roy V. Scott (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005). 356 pp. Bibliography. Index. $65.00.

This book maps the transition of midwestern agriculture during the twentieth century from family farming to agribusiness. While many see this evolution as a loss, the authors argue otherwise and provide the research to back their claims.

Cameron, Missouri: Crossroads of the Nation, Sesquicentennial 1855-2005. (Cameron, MO: Cameron Sesquicentennial History Book Committee, 2005). 392 pp. Illustrations. Index. $65.00, plus $6.00 shipping.

Published in celebration of the sesquicentennial anniversary of this northwest Missouri town, this book documents the history of Cameron and its schools, churches, organizations, businesses, and families. To purchase a copy, contact the Cameron Public Library at 312 N. Chestnut, Cameron, MO 64429, (816) 632-2311, or tomlin@real.more.net.

Become a State Historical Society of Missouri Member

Memberships further the mission of The State Historical Society. They provide funds to purchase books, preserve newspapers, exhibit artworks, and publish works on the history of Missouri. Each member annually receives four issues of the *Missouri Historical Review* and the *Missouri Times*.

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News in Brief

An exhibit of photographs by internationally known photographer Oliver Schuchard will open January 24 in the Art Gallery. Featuring large-format color and black-and-white images, the exhibit focuses on Schuchard's interpretation of the landscape in Missouri, his native state. The artist will be present at the opening reception on January 24 from 4:30 to 6:00 p.m. to sign copies of his recently published book, *The Landscape in Black and White*. On February 9 at 7:00 p.m. in the Art Gallery, Schuchard will give a talk about his work. Schuchard, of Holts Summit, Missouri, is professor emeritus at the University of Missouri-Columbia Art Department, where he taught for thirty years.

Watercolors and drawings by Victor Kunz are on display in the North-South Corridor Gallery.

On February 21, the Society will offer a workshop titled "Using the Internet and African American Research in Missouri." Traci Wilson-Kleekamp of Columbia will give an overview of the tools and resources available via the Internet to conduct genealogical research for African Americans and will demonstrate research strategies to explore while conducting research on enslaved ancestors. Wilson-Kleekamp has been researching her family, some of whom were once slaves on central Missouri farms and plantations, for seven years. Her Web site, www.usgennet.org/~ahtopaag/indexusg.html, won a Family History Favorite award from Ancestry.com. The workshop is open to the public, but limited to thirty participants. It is free for Society members and $10 for non-members. Pre-registration is required. To register, call the Society at (573) 882-7083.

The Society will hold a genealogical conference on March 11, 2005, from 9:00 a.m. to 3:00 p.m., in the Society's quarters. The event will include a morning and an afternoon workshop, and representatives from Missouri genealogical societies will be on-hand to offer information about their organizations. The Society will also be open for research.

Pamela Boyer Porter will present the morning workshop, "Beginning Genealogical Research." Porter is an author, researcher, lecturer, and teacher specializing in southeast Missouri, methodology, migration paths into and out of Missouri, and effective use of computer tools for genealogists. She is co-author of *Online Roots: How to Discover Your Family's History and Heritage with the Power of the Internet* and *Research in Missouri*.

Carolyn Branch will present the afternoon workshop, "Using the Internet for Genealogical Research." Branch is a reference librarian at the Daniel Boone Regional Library's Fulton branch. She teaches genealogy classes for the library and has presented programs for the Missouri State Genealogical Association.

The workshops are free for Society members and will cost $10 per workshop or $15 for both for non-members. Space is limited and pre-registration is required. To register for a workshop, contact Lori Kupsky, reference specialist, at (573) 882-1180 or KupskyL@umsystem.edu.

Missouri county and regional genealogical societies are invited to send representatives to and set up displays at the conference. Reservations are required, and booth space will be limited. For more information, contact Seth Smith, reference specialist, at (573) 882-1180 or SmithSet@umsystem.edu.

The forty-eighth annual Missouri Conference on History, sponsored by Central Missouri State University and State Fair Community College, will be held on the campus of State Fair Community College in Sedalia on March 30-31, 2006.

The conference seeks nominations for its book and article prizes. The deadline for nominations is January 15. For more information, visit www.umsystem.edu/shs/mch/cfp.html.

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MISSOURI

The State Historical Society of Missouri, heretofore organized under the laws of this state, shall be the trustee of this state - *Laws of Missouri, 1899; Revised Statutes of the State of Missouri, 2000*, chapter 183.

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The State Historical Society of Missouri collects, preserves, makes accessible, and publishes material relating to the history of Missouri and the Middle West. Its extensive collections of books, newspapers, journals, maps, manuscripts, and photographs are open to the public. An art gallery features rotating exhibits with selected paintings by George Caleb Bingham and Thomas Hart Benton on permanent display.

The Society is a not-for-profit, tax-exempt organization. Gifts of cash or property to the Society are deductible for federal income, estate, and gift tax purposes. For further information about gifts or bequests, contact Gary R. Kremer, Executive Director.

Contact the Society at: 1020 Lowry Street, Columbia, MO 65201-7298; phone (573) 882-7083 or (800) 747-6366; e-mail: shsofmo@umsystem.edu; Web site: www.umsystem.edu/shs.

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QUAKER HISTORY

QUAKER HIST.
QUAKER
VOL II
PGS. 1-68

6 SOURCES

[CORNELL]

RICHMAN:
R. I: Its Making
+ Meaning
1636-1683
①

Worrall:
Q. in Col. N.E.
②

Harvey. Rise
of Quakers.
③

THOMAS: 4
Hist. of
Friends in Am.
④

TOLLES:
Meeting House
& Counting
House: Q. Merchants of Col. Phila
⑤

Brinton;
Q. JOURNALS:
Varieties of Rel.
Exp. among
Friends
⑥

BACON:
QUIET REBELS.
Story of Q. in
Am.
⑦

II. QK NOTES

70 sheets/college ruled
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1 subject notebook

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Note & biog in Brinton Qk. Journals
Consider
John J. Cornell - Autobiog (b.1826 - d.1909)
Elias Hicks - Journal (b.1748 - d.1830)
John Richardson - An Account (b.1666 - d.1753)
Geo Richardson - Journal (b.1773 - d.1863)

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1. Lucas, Paul R. Valley of Discord: Church & Society along the Conn. River, 1636-1725.
highly recomm for univ. lib.

QUAKER HISTORY SOURCES

Incorporate salient points in Rebecca Cornell story - up OK ref.

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DFrch 3. Harvey, T. Edmund. The Rise of the Quakers 1909 [DULL - DID NOTHING MORE THAN LIGHTNING SCAN]

D. Frch 4 THOMAS, ALLEN C. & THOMAS, RICHARD H. A HISTORY OF THE FRIENDS IN AMERICA. 1919 5th ed. 1st printed 1894 - Brief Look.

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1

1. Richman, I.B. Rhode Is: Its Making & Meaning 1636-83 (to death of Roger Williams) 1908

TOPICAL by INDEX: [CORNELL, Thos. 2 murder. Photo. only reference.

1. Baulston, Wm. MISS 117, 137, 139, 261, 391

1639-40 Pocasset changed to Portsmouth ~~ast~~ treasurer WB; Gov W Codd; Sec'y Wm Dyer of Newport.

1640-41 Ass't W Hutchinson (because of Ann's views on Xtns holding office) replaced by W.B.; also Portsmouth Asst 1648 & suspended & dismissed w/ Codd in disgrace, for giving info to Ms. in effort to reduce Warwick.

1663 Prov. Plantation: Gov B. Arnold 1663 & 1677, Asst W.B, & Wm.

2. BROWNE, ROBT. 13-6.1580; of Cambridge. f. "Bapt in Eng at Norwich -+ advocated Sep of Ch/St

3. 1676 - Quaker Walter Clarke. Gov of R.I. - last Q.

1676 - Feb 28 - his letter re King Philip's War 4 "We know the Lord's hand is against N. Eng, & no weapon formed will or shall prosper till the worke be finished by which the Wheat is pulled up w/ the tares & the innocent suffer w/ the guilty." The end of this War marks end of distinctive Quaker rule in R.I.

Q. govt.

End of Q. rule

4. John COTTON ~~8, 15, 39, 43, 56, 123, 124~~ MISS-NO ~~PGS~~ 113-128

JC disapproved of Athenian Democracy; favored Theocracy like Israel, & Mass statutes in Bible, & these Biblical codes to be interpreted by Clergy.

5. MARY DYER - 345-46; 352-361

1657 - back in Bay col, from Eng. Now Q - prob did evangelistic work in Eng & put in charge of husband Wm. 1638, disciple of Anne Hutch. Winthrop described M Dyer "a very proper & fair woman, but of a very proud spirit & much addicted to revelations." To be hanged Boston Common from elm. Rev John Wilson (enemy of Anne H) who personally brought scalp of Sassacus from

Richmond; R.I.

bequist daughter, jeered at 2 young men & MD "Aha Aha! Shall such Jacks as you come in before Authority with your hats on?" Men hanged - MD walked hand in hand w/them to gallows. Rev John Wilson lent handkerchief to spread over her face. Reprieve. Went back to prison. Sent on horseback 15 mi on way to R.I. Again in Boston 1660 My 21, & hanged for breaking the law in coming again. As Her body swung from rope, a magistrate Humphrey Atherton pointed at it w/derision, saying "It hung like a flag." On Sept 17, 1661, Atherton was thrown from his horse & killed at training on Boston Commons, near spot where Mary D was hanged. Had he seen her ghost?

Je 1, 1660

Note: 1660 MD

Friends Records of Portsmouth, entry: noted MD w/o Wm Dyer of Newport - put to death in Boston with "ye like cruel hand as the martyrs were in Queen Mary's time & there buried [on the common] upon ye 31 day of ye 3d mo 1660 [error of 1 day in date].

After death of Mary D only 1 ♀ suffered in Capital punishment in Ms - Wm Leddra 14 Mar 1661. Vagabond Act (Cart-Tail) went into effect May 22.

1661 - Katherine Chatham paraded sts of Boston in sackcloth.

1662 Nov & May 1663 - Deborah Wilson in Salem church, & Lydia Wardwell in Newbury mtg. appeared stark naked as a testimony against her persecution by flogging [Isaiah justified nakedness for a sign]. Unclad F - Divine promptings? J. Wilson excomm MD & AH. In Hull Diary 1638 - MD monster 20 yrs. earlier was part man, fish, bird, beast w/no neck, scales, claws & horns. Reprieve contrived by magistrates for effect - to be read as MD on scaffold. On last scaffold refused clergy prayers.

tally

anced or ience

to God?

Richmond: R.I.

6. Wm Dyer (h/o Mary) (MISSING 117-18, 126), 138, 251; 256.
277, 279, 281, 290, 294 359, 422
1647, 1648 – recorder
1648-49 – quarreled w Codd over 10 head of cattle –
WD said to have stolen them from Rocky Farm
7. Wm CODDINGTON 40,41 – merchant
52-3 def. Anne H. "No law of God or man that she hath broken – deserves no censure
58-60 banished by Ms 83. – Mar 16 1/38, along w/ Baulston, Edw Hutch, Bull etc
117, 118 f. Portsmouth – [missing pgs]
126-29, 131 secedes to f. Newport ["]
160 mercantile spirit – liberal econ. policy
261-64 treachery of
268-9 estate of at Newport in 1650 – 750 A. with "ROCKY FARM" * with horses, cattle + Eng sheep.
217, 415 Newport house. Corn type w/central chimney 1665-70, entertained Fox here. 2nd story overhang
418, 422, 441 Gov of R I. – Q elect Easton 1672-73, + WC 1674-5, W. Clarke 1676
446 criticized by R. Wm – for making poor man work 1 wk for bu of corn
537 death Nov 1, 1678
As Q changed from starched cuffs to plain Q garb
Great Q awakening at Newport 1666, 1671, 1672, w/ missionar
John Burnyeat – revivals. Fox held Q wed at Codd hs, preach
big barn on prop. Could Rebecca Corn be convinced
then – ck. out Burnyeat

Q.K. revival 1666-72

Aquidneck Is orig given by Canonicus to John Oldham for tr. post, but J O d. + transfers to R Wm + Winthrop. re X of Pequot War
Aquidneck better off than Providence. { Newport Pop 300.
1650* Brenton large farm "Hammersmith" – brick house w/ 4 chimneys
Crops wheat, oats, rye, barley, peas, hemp, flax, apples, cheeses, venison, wild berries, hickory + chestnuts. Many great farms: Hills of cedar + hemlock, oak + maple.. Swamp cleared

Richmond: R.I.

1675 KING PHILIP'S WAR Ch. 13.
Pop. Prov - 500, Portsmouth - 200 hs w/500 pop. Newport 2X
bigger than Ports - 400 hs. Total R.I. - 3000 pop.
Econ - Commerce w/W. Ind. esp horses & sheep - more sheep
in R.I. (good grass) than elsewhere in N Eng. Riding horses,
side saddles for F, grooms, broadcloth riding habits for F,
beaver hats w/ black ostrich plumes, pwd hair for F
Wild roses, Debates against Q.
1672 - Aug 4th R Wm age 70 debate 4 Q, includ Burnyeat
1660 - Massasoit, chief of Wampanoags & ally of Plym from 1621
died & suc. by son Wamsutta Alex & he d. & was suc by his bro
Philip - age 22 who sold land to Eng for blankets & utensils
incl 1664 - some R.I. 1667 - wish to recover land & began
coll. arms 1671. Ambushed Aug 2 - Capt Edw Hutchinson
& troops near Brookfield, Ms. To keep Narragansetts
(w 2000 warriors + 900 guns) from alliance w Phil, Edw
Hutch sent to Prov. to appeal to R Williams for peace
Sept - Oct Wamps & Nipmucs attack Deerfield, Hatfield etc.
Strike Narrag. w army Ms 540, Plym 158, Ct 450 = 1148
+ some R.I. volunteers in Swamp (now Kingston, R.I.)
Ind fort of palisades & blockhouses. Ind k, ca 150 ?
~~Col~~ w 600 captured; Eng k - 68, & the 150 wounded
sent to ~~island~~ Aquid of R.I. for care. Q. dominated R.I.
govt made feeble efforts to resist attack. Mainland
R.I. advised to go to island to Ports. & Newp for safety &
refugees came from Prov & Plym Col but R. Wms did not
1676 Mar 17, 26. Warwick deserted burned & Rehoboth & Prov. Many ref. in Aquid
Did 2 Jan 17 - N.Y. invited refugees to Long Is or Staten Is.
1675 John Cornell go at this time? In Boston 1675 Boston Q forced to run gauntlet because
of Pacifism - against Phil - . By now even Q. in

Richmond: R. I.

R.I. bestirred themselves - island boat patrolled & enumeration of supplies corn, guns, ammo, & 2 cannon in forts., order more from Boston, est. garrison

Philips Confederacy weakened by d. of Canonchet & battle at Turner Falls (May 19, 1676) Phil K Ag 12, 1676.

Gillet

Rog Wms'

Ind. captives

slaves & condemned by him.

Naragansetts decimated by Conn troops in summer of 1676. Q. influence dictated no Ind slaves, but R. Williams active in effecting sales (for which he rec'd proceeds) of Ind slave @ 32 shillings, or 12 bu of maize, or 100# wool — to serve as bondmen from 7 — 25 years!!!

A few Ind to trial & condemned to death Aug 24 at Newport - & jury includ R Wms. Gov Walter Clarke (Quaker) did not attend session.

ANNE HUTCHINSON - Antinomians. Ban 1637 Nov w/ certain Antinomians req. to surrender arms some of whom under Dr J Clarke went N. Thru R Wm, Aquidneck (RI) acq from Narrag. for 40 fathoms of white beads.

Richmond: R. I.

*[Portsmouth founding 117-121 all MISSING PGS.]

1630's Both in Eng & New Eng rise of inspired irregular male preachers from among
she-preachers tailor, weaver & tapster brewer, & of F preachers - Anne
Hutch., etc. Rise of sects - 1. Familists or Family
of Love (in 16th in Holl); (2. Chiliasts - millennialists; (3. Anti
Sabbatarians - no obligatory Lord's Day or Sabbath; (4. Soul
Sleepers. - Heaven & Hell fiction 5. Anabapt. (6 Anti-
nomians. Many came from Eng to Ms + R.I. - all more
or less Tolerationists i.e. "Liberty of Conscience".
One such, was Sam Gorton, clothier of London (b. 159
arr 1637 Boston + 1641 to Prov). - belief in lib of cons.
1640 in Portsmouth, & was whip or chained. Prov.
refused him - as wanton disturber - agitator - alone
knowing Truth, anti-magistrate. [RWm prob.
Bapt 1638?, members includ. RWm + wife, John Throck
morton + wife, T. Olney + wife, S. Wescott + wife, Mary Holliman
+ widow Reeves + Hugh Betts. + maybe Robert Scott +
wife who was sister of Anne Marbury Hutch.
*[PORTSMOUTH] \ the Island (Aquidneck) deer, fox, wolf preyed on livest
NEWPORT - / + hence "drives". for Ms most trouble.
1640 or 41 Gorton ban. from Aquid. + other Gortonists disfranchised
1642 Need for patent from King or Parliament. RWm to get charter.
1643 sailed from ManHattan. Anne H. + fam (16) k. Her son Edw. jr
was ancestor of Thos. Hutchinson, last Royal Gov.
of Ms.
1638 Aquid house lots = 6A
1640 - Wm Hutch. had 900 A
PATENT OF 1644
RWm in Eng. he had ear of Vane, Cromwell & Milton via Vane
Milton classed w Familists, Anabapt, etc. + he favored

Richmond: R.I.

toleration only for good Prot; he'd pub Tract

Oct Divorce also div for incompatibility

Newport - strongly aristocratic; Ports - more democratic

Gorton & Anne Hutch collaborated in Ports.

1647? to 1650. Union of 4 R.I. towns ORG. OF PROV. PLANTATIONS: Code as a whole free from O.T. + spirit of Moses. Had death penalty for treason, murder, manslaughter, burglary, robbery, arson & crimes against nature & [witchcraft (none ever prosecuted in RI)] at a time when Mass, Plym, & New Haven considered blasphemy against God, cursing God & parents as cap. crimes: Regulation of selling arms to Ind, common scolds punish w/ ducking stool, & all persons 17-70 to own bow + 4 arrows (to use if deprived of pwd + shot) for protection against natives. ,,,, "Otherwise than what is thus herein forbidden all men may walk as their consciences persuade them, every one in the name of his God."

Gen'l LAWS before Rk.5

1650 Few horses & oxen; lots of swine & goats: Upon these + game, fish + maize, people subsisted in Prov. Agric'l better off. Ind liked coats w/ brass buttons which they cut off + strung for a necklace. Law against slavery - 1st step taken by Eng col toward emancipation of blacks - law said no blacks or whites could be forced to serve longer than 10 yrs.

SLAVES 1652?

INNS Act, May 1655 - 2 persons in ea town lic to keep inns w/ conspicuous sign "Publick Entertainment" 1661 - retailers of wine + lyckers must also provide at least 1 bed + victuals or be fined 10 shill for 1st violation + 20 sh for 2nd

Richmond: R. I.

1655-57. Order to stop agitations by "ringleaders of factions or divisions amongst us" — offender to be sent to Eng to be tried by Lord Protector [Cromwell ??] — directed against "Robt West, Catherine w/o R. Scott (sis to Anne H), Ann Williams & Rebecca Throckmorton, as 'common opposers of all authority'. Also against Thos Harris, Wm Wigenden & Thos Angall, for Ringleaders in new divisions in the Colony" — but Court for lack of evidence acquitted them.

Female agitators

1655. Acts passed against notorious & customary cursing & swearing & sexual immorality. Freemen totaled 247: Prov 42, Warwick 38, Portsmouth 71, Newport 96. Adultery & fornic. forbidden in Code of 1647 but offences cont. 1655 — enacted whip for adultery — in PORTSM 15 stripes plus after a week another like whip at Newport; PLUS 1st offence 10£, + 20£ for second. & this law applied to fornication in 1657. Gov. Bradford of Plym. thought Satan had more power in these heathen lands than in more Xtn nations.

Cause

QUESTION of Lib. of Conscience & QUAKERS IN R.I.
Convinced of "innerlight" - guidance by spirit - not to supercede Scriptures but largely supplemented it. Promptings led to fanaticism + doing strange things. Fox cried out against "steeple houses" + "idol temples" + idolaters. — Mather in Magnalia gives caricature of Q invective: i.e. "thou bell of no metal but

Richmond, R.I.

the tone of a kettle; thou whirligig; thou adder scorpion; thou ragged tatterdemallion etc.
Q. disbelief in war/fight. W/inner light, non-resistance, missionary zeal, Q. was potent, powerful & feared.
Jl 1656 1st Q miss to N. Eng (1. Mary Fisher later to brave the Turk, & 2. Anne Austin. Jailed in Boston – tracts burned – examined for witch marks, denied food & sent back to Barbadoes. Aug. 5. Aug 7 – 8 Q arr from London – w/ Dorothy Waugh, et al. & jailed for 11 wks & sent back to Eng after Mary Prince called Endicott "vile oppressor".
Oct 1656 Ms act – ship capts bringing Q. fined £100, jailed, forced labor, £5 on writings. Soon after law Bost innkeeper Nicholas Upsall ban for say Ms law might be found fighting against God, & was welcomed at Newport & Aquidneck became haven for Q miss & sympathizers & source of Q converts. Catherine Scott (AH sis) went to Boston
Nov 1658 CATERINE SCOTT (A H sis) to visit jailed Chris Holder who prob converted Scott fam to Q & she was whipped w/10 lashes; & Gov Endicott threatened hanging next time to which she replied, "If God call, woe be to us, if we come not;... I question not but he whom we love will make us not to count our lives dear unto ourselves for the sake of his name." to which the Gov rejoined "And we shall be as ready to take away your lives as ye shall be to lay them down".

Je 1659 And Catherine's dau 11 yr old Patience walked to Boston to bear witness against the persecuting spirit of the Bay – & was not punished.

Richmond: R.I.

Charter of 1663 – John Clarke

1659 Atherton Co formed to obt from sachems Kachanaquant
2 large tracts [loc. N.E. portion of N. Kingstown R.I.].
w/o — Cornell. ? } 2} includ 21 members – w Edw Hutchinson jr, Gov John
Winthrop of Conn, Simon Bradstreet, Thomas Willett

FOUNDERS OF R.I. died
1676 – John Clarke d.
1677 – Sam Gorton d.
1678 – Benedict Arnold d. & Wm Codding ton
1683 – Roger Williams d.

prices dropped } In this decade – pork 2 pence lb – 50 shill a barrel
peas – 2sh6p bu; beef 12 sh 100#; maize 2sh bu
wool dropped from 12p lb to 6p.

1679 Laws – no hired labor on Lord's Day. – no gaming, shooting
as for tippling "no more than necessity requireth."

1679 In his last letter to Prov. town – R Wm wrote "6 things
are written in the hearts of all mankind, yea, even in
pagans 1. That their is a Deity 2. that some actions
are naught 3. That Deity will punish 4. that there
is another life 5. That marriage is honorable 6. that
mankind cannot keep together without some govt."
Argued – either law or arms must prevail.

W. forgotten – no record of mo or day of death – between
Jan 16 & May 10, 1683. Contemporaries may
not have respected him for being clergy or
lib. of conscience idea. Esteemed for influence w/
humanitarian Narrag. Ind; & procuring patent for Narrag lands
idealist from Vane.

Ms Gov John Winthrop – rep Moses & the Law
R.I. Rev Roger Williams – rep Christ & the individual

Q. Worrall, Arthur J. Quakers in Col. N. East. 12

~~37, 38, 40-41, 81~~
~~3-4, 11, 18-20, 24-26, 62, 72~~, ~~128-132, 144~~
Q in R.I. ~~7-9, 15, 46, 52, 55, 80~~, 174, ~~99-103~~, 152-155

1672 ent pol as group; no persecution or oaths reg. Some Q. avoid mil. serv in King Philip's War; no est ch to reg. taxes. Walter Clarke 7 terms dep gov, 4 terms Gov. Many Q. merchants in transAtlantic trade.

Cornell Antinomian supporters of Anne H on Aquid. at Ports. & Newp proved to be earliest & most numerous converts to Q. (Little doc. on this). Benedict Arnold, pres. of Court of Trials
1657 of Prov suggest Q. be ignored as "They delight to be persecuted by civil powers". R.I. base of operations for miss. Prominent among early Quakers were Nicholas Easton & 2 sons, Jn & Peter; Henry Bull
B.P. Wm & Anne Coddington; Catharine Scott (sis to AH) Robt Hodgson; Ann Clayton; Jos & Jane Nicholson Joshua Buffum, [Eliakim Wardell & wife Lydia who moved to Newtown, L. Is.] Q govt in R.I. signified change from early Q. fanatics. Q peace testimony — could not repeal compulsory militia service; did prov for CO alternatives - as a watch or caring for noncombatants. Some Q. had active roles in King Phil War. Easton appt mil. officers & commissioned privateers, few instances of fining outside war yrs.; some hatred by Col. who did have to serve. In 1704 (Queen Anne's War) Q. would take watch only w/o arms.

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2. A. Day Bradley, "NY Friends & The Confiscated Loyalist Estates" from Quaker History: Slavery troubled Q. from late 17th c, esp. Newport & NY. Newport heart of Q. - merchants involved in slave trade, & Q. on Aquid. had slaves: Fox not against it.

Worrall. Q. in Col NE

13

ch. 1 Q. Invasion:
Q. orig in Eng — offshoot of Pur Revolution.
1643 Among leaders — Geo Fox who brought together various separatists
called Seekers by 1652 in North Eng. reg. by Ch.
1st gen — tended toward upper mid cl; 2nd gen — lower cl.
Belief — all at their own election of Light cultivated
could be saved; rejected predestination & learned clergy
Seed of God in man sufficient.
[RANTERS — a sect, also guided by Spirit but into personal
perfection beyond man's law, a threat to the St, excesses
led to anarchy. Not same as Q.]
Accepted Bible — but not only or final standard for
belief: other revelations possible. Seemed to deny
?? the hist, but Christ — asserting that a seed of Christ
was in all. This appealed to poor & alienated.
practices includ — refusal to say "you," swear oaths, en-
couraged female clergy.
In Ms. it seemed A Hutch party would control Ms. in struggle
for power; Winthrop & Orthodox clergy won. A H-w mercantile
followers f. Portsmouth R.I. Her beliefs & those of Q. similar
& 20 yrs late Aquid became converts of this Spirit Mysticism
Disgruntled Eng also went to L. Is. under tolerant Dutch
rule — Flushing, Hempstead & Jamaica; adopt doct like
Antinomians.
by 1660 Q. converts in N Eng & Long Is, Plym, & R.I. Plymouth Col.
more permissive — not strong Pur; Dartmouth 1 of its towns.
& receptive to Q under Gov Bradford, but not Gov. Prence, 1658 Sand-
1658 wich — Jn. Copeland slandered Jn. Alden & whipped & expelled; & Col.
disfranchised Q.

Worrall. Q. in Col NE

Q., an offshoot of the Pur. left

1657 Q. presence in NY. via Woodhouse & Robt Hodgson apprehended in Hempstead & taken to P. Stuyvesant & refused to doff hat, jailed & sentenced to manual labor beside of slaves - refused - beaten. Law set up - £50 fine for entertaining Q - tested by Q at Flushing & Townsend suffered. Flush. Remonstrance a

Rich 3 Conn

demand for rel. tol, signed by 31, includ sheriff, town clerk, mgs. Many Q. converts in Flush Oyster

Cowell

Bay & Cow Neck. 1662. J Bowne had Q meet in his house in Flush & fined £25 - refused - jailed

1663 for 3 mos. W Ind Co. ordered Stuy. to stop harass Q. [Next yr. Eng capt New Amsterdam]

CH. 2. SCHISM, PERSECUTION & POLITICS.

1663 R.I. charter

1664 Ms. lost charter - defiant of royal authority; NY began

1660's Q. flourished in R.I., Sandwich, Dartmouth & Tiverton in Plym.

Q. settled Lg Is. - challenges to Q. type marriages.

1661 Chas II prohibited Q. execution, & Norton sent to London to argue case court pay him £66 for Ms. Cart & Whip Act. Raymer charged Q. in not

1663 believing in Trinity. Q. in Boston st. in sackcloth & ashes.

1664 3 women "naked" Salem in protest Newbury whip of f. stripped naked above the waist. Militant in spreading their gospel. Some turned to celibacy esp Salem (foll. of Perrot schism)

1675 King Philip's War brought about a renewed persecution of Q. in Ms. & brought temporary comeback of R Wm in R I.

1672 Fox to Am, to org. Q business meetings on Eng plan. from Barbadoes to R.I., now w Q. govt recently elected. R Wm chall Fox to debate. Stand-ins accepted. RW charged Q. w/ heresy (1. Quakers assumed infallibility & perfection - like popery; Q. knew they were saved. (2.) rejected

Worrall. Q. in Col NE 15

RW & QK Debate Bible as final authority (3. making Christ within (The Inward Light) = of hist. Christ. (4. result of Q. perfectionism would bring anarchy, breakdown of civil authority. The 3 standins argued that Q. did believe in the hist. Christ & His atonement; nor were Q. papist, Manichaean, Ranters, or Arian, as RWm chgd.

1673 Dutch recaptured NY. – RI. mobilized; Assembly pacifist law exempt CO; did require m. noncombatants to help guard prop & women & ch & cattle if enemy invaded.

1675 King Phil War. Ms. persecuted war dissenters, Plymouth did not as Q. accomodated in Sand, Falm, Dartm, Tiverton, Scituate & Duxbury. NY. Q. got along well in ~~Fl~~ with NOA Q & NY govt – worshipping freely, rarely subjected to church taxes in 1670's; did have trouble in refusing to participate in military, & in Q. meeting marriages & refused to help build fort in Manhattan 1672-5.

Cornell | LIs. 1670's.

ch. 3. DECLINE OF Q. MENACE.

1730 Q. accept as benign but heretical sect. Mather "heresies" Y Increase Mather 1684 thought Q. bewitched people. 1 Keith, Scot. Q ? 1688 challenged Cotton Mather to debate – was refused, as Ms. had Anglic gov friendly to Q. – K. chgd Pur belief in nature of God – vengeful; Q belief was God is love. & Q. were not Ranters, as CM chgd; & were not diabolically possessed; anti-Sacraments; F preachers; cont revelation; anti-Trinity

Had Q. departed from orthodox Xty by lack of concern for defining essentials ~~(Creed?)~~ no catechism of their faith? as Lodowick apostatized Q. believed. 1 Keith urged Pa. Q to adopt a catechism, & they did not so he left to est. Xtn Quakers – gone by ~~1700~~ 1700. One of their Q critics claimed Q. were no better than "Egyptian rat worshippers."

Mather??

Worrall, Q. in Col NE

And were blasphemous for belief in light of Christ in all humans. MS intent on ch taxes to support Congreg'l'. By 1725 Mather changed views - said Q raised up to chastice us for the vile contempt we cast on the Light of God within them. = a favorable comment on Q. - doct of Inner Light no longer idolatry.

1702 SPG missionary - Geo Keith back in Am to attract Q to Anglic ch. Conflict w/ RI Q. & Lt Gov Walter Clarke + in L. Is. but was supported by Lord Cornbury Gov

Nov. of NY. Tried to silence Q. Sam Bownas who denigrated bp. & communion. Bownas imprisoned. Not same as John

PT. II. INSTIT, GROWTH & WORSHIP

At first, Q. highly ind. & rejected authority. In late 1660s Fox attempts to bring unruly under control w/ bus meet w/ central authority - London Y.M in Eng + 1672 to Am. Increase by reprod, not by conversion. & by 1775 resembled (Am Q) Eng-Irish Q.

CH. 4. Org & Growth before 1755.

1671 Barbadoes. Fox to Am. (1. est bus. meet (2. growth of Q (3. investigate possible Q set in Ca. Flush. MM org. bus. in N 1672 + Oyster Bay. Newport est Q ch govt - to take care of poor, to see that all who profess truth walk acc. to gospel of God. Many people who rarely attended meet, not b to Q, or married in meet still considered Q by community at large.

1710-54 N Eng + NY, Q doctrines no longer feared, & Q released from ch taxes. & Q. lived honest & humble.

1750-52 Eng Q. Mary Weston in N. Eng & NY. preached to large crowds [Not unlike Gr Awakening] - on election & orig sin not unlike Geo Whitefield.

Tightening Org. authority

Worrall. Q in Col NE

Note: Westbury NY QMM minutes for Col. period after 1720 are MISSING + NY YM 1720-46. Clerks careless & lo

2. New Eng. Discipline Q rules — notes - power centralized in clerk, Treas. served lon periods, too. No gravestones to be erected over Q. graves 1712, 1717, 1730, slave trade discouraged 1717, prohibitions of Mar of 1st cousins 1718, & use of periwig 1722. Offenses against rules.

Flush & Westbury MM - 1734 + 35, many marriages "out" by priest clergy or J.P. called "disorderly marriages."

Loose def. of membership — from 1690 a Q - children of Q. if not disowned. What about 1 Q parent? - Discipline does not say. In practice - depended on Dress, Outward actions, & Meeting attendance. If married

Flush. in Q meet, then Q, even if not application for membership. Loose def. until Q reform after 1755.

CH.5 REFORM + WORSHIP. 1755

Control extended. Discipline tightened via Sam Fothergill Eng Q minister Effect, like Gr Awake.. Attracted large throngs.

Q. withdrew from pol. in Pa. Westbury led resistance to reform 1761-67, then collapsed. Rules codified like Eng Q 1760 - N Eng Q adopt Discipline, modeled on Eng., & replace 1738 revision. NY YM had no Discipline of its own before 1755, + efforts to eliminate weak members (before 55 litt concern re membership details) - need to certify members because of militia laws. How to id. Q? birthright Q - bo parents Q. 1772 - if only 1 parent Q, then child as adult apply for membership.

Enforcement of Rules: After 1770, Q. more concerned w/ literal enforcement of rules than in carrying the

Worrall. Qu Col NE

spiritual message to the larger message; disowning for small offenses - for marry out", drunk, gamble, dance.

After 1760 Hudson R Valley grew, + esp after RevWar broke out. 100's 2 moved to 9 Partners, Creek MM etc. David Sands, a convinced Q of 9 Partners preached dur War, convincing many Q.

WORSHIP - free of formal liturgy, appt read from Bible, + formal sermon. Silence - waiting for God's will to be revealed; a word, or prayer. If that person spoke frequently, would be recognized as a minister. Most - process of 1650's varied from spontaneous acceptance, or self-appointment, to formal exam & decision by bus meet in early 18th c. + by then ministers & elders sat on a raised "facing bench", one that faced the Q. Some went to sleep in silence; censure reprimanded for inattention. Some meet in private homes.

end of 18th c One preacher in Prov pulled off coat + neckcloth + preached powerfully - theatrically. In Phila 1750 another in half singing cadence w/sobbing w/ hat removed. In some meet men preach first, then a woman - alternately. May sit 2 hrs in silence, as none feel moved by the Holy Spirit. Lack of uniformity in N Eng + NY

All parts of life were as a sacrament - constant pursuit of holiness. Each meal began w/ silent devotion. Plaingarb. Honest transactions in business.

Worrall · Q in Col NE

Part III Testimonies & Politics

Ch 6 Q. Politics & Oaths.

At first, Q eager to participate in gov't – limited outside R.I. because of swearing oath requirements. In NY Q. qualified for govt office.

M Q. dominated Dartmouth, constables jailed for refusing to collect church taxes. Q. also a majority in Nantucket after 1708 (when land squabbles, migrations & enforcement of Q. Discipline depopulated the co.).

N.Y. – Q. had more freedom there than in MS – not as to get office, but on serving on jury); sometimes oath requirements ignored & Q. did get lower office; & in Gov Fletcher's X could vote until 1698 prop requirements for franchise & vote in Gov Cooke's X. & on to 1733. 1750 – Flush MM disowned Thos Betts of Newtown for taking oath & qualifying as J.P. Vote in elections 1787

rrell

Q officially refused to recognize the new gov't of Rev War until peace treaty of 1783 signed; frequently id as Tories.

Ch 7 CHURCH TAXES

MS – before 1680 50% higher ch tx for Q. due to fees charged for forced collection. Royal charter granted by Wm & Mary & clause prov. lib of cons in the worship of God to all Xtns. Did this mean Bapt, Q & dissenters denominations/sects other than est ch Congreg. would be freed from supporting the est ch? Ms. imposed ch tax..

1702 Dartmouth refused to call & pay qualified clergy: constables required to coll. ch tx. 1727 – Ch of Eng bishop lobby got Anglic exempt from ch tx. 1728 – Q & Bapt. freed from ch tx by 5-mi rule – must live within 5 mi of meet attended until 1732 – dropped because of Q. lobby.

N.Y. – Ch of Eng est Ch. in Westchester, Queens, Richmond Co.

Worrall. Q in Col NE

NY polyglot rel –. Duke's Laws prov ch be supported by public funds. Flush, Westbury, Oblong & 9 Partners MM
?? may have escaped ch tx altogether thru informal relig ???.
Q. set Hud R Valley – by Q. weary of NE rules to b. meet hs & call clergy – land hungry, cheap lands in Oblong, low rents

CH.8 PEACE TESTIMONY = PT

pacifism

Except for wartime, Q not severely persecuted for pacifism
Only col to recognize (& then short) PT was R.I. – alternative service prov. Most did not exempt from mil. serv or mil tx. PT strong in N.Y. Fr-Ind War 1754-63 NY leg to adj. mil laws for Q. – not to carry arms, but req to stand watch, or send armed replacements; if invasion b. earthworks, or fined. Westbury Q. obj. to fines & N.Y. started suffering $ – i.e. £100 per yr from 1756 – 62; 1759 = £800. for mil. expenses. NY was major theater of war. In Dartmouth – Q fined up to £ 380 in 1755, 56, 57.
DURING Am REV. – Q emphasized being a peaceable people.
Am held Hud Valley; Br – Manhattan & Lgds. Land of Purchase MM a no-man's land contested by both. NY Q. refused to pay war tax, or their share of War debt after peace treaty 1783 signed. Still many Q enlisted in army – major cause of disownments.

CH.9. PHILANTHROPY

Assisted its own poor, & after 1700 Non-Q. Eliminated slave trade & slave holding. Assist. in Fr-Ind & Am Rev Wars. & aid to Ind. Fox urged child to care for aged parents, – not have to rely on towns for support, BUT, Flush MM in 1684 helped purchase a Negro slave for John Adams, an ex-ranter. Rural Q more self-sufficie

Worrall. Quak Col NE

Q poor relief.
Urban Q less. Newport RI poorhouse before 1760. all MM tried to find jobs for indigent, & place dep child as apprentice to relieve poor families. [illegible] Q bus of Q in jail over ch tx. 1697 R.I. MM helped Newport woman buy son's free from Turks. Q. neutrality suspected of disloyalty by both sides. Aid went to needy Q & non-Q in Hudson V.

ANTISLAVERY – ? troublesome from late 17th c. Q owned slaves in Newport, NY, Lg Is. Fox' stand on ??? did hold egalitarian views i.e. favored miscegenation, & joint meet for worship – but unheeded in NEng. 1676 Edmundson spoke out against SL – Sl also child of God. Geo Keith, against it – a moral evil, a violation of Q PT. Prominent Q in Newport RI owned both Ind & Negroes, includ Thos Richardson. w Cojo whom he sold in Lg Is 1716. TR d. 1761, still slaveowner.
grandson Abraham Redwood, Q merchant owned most SL in R.I. in N. Aquid. – 75 to 250 after 1730. 1711 f. Q of Dartmouth MM had sl whip so hard that he died; she was expel from Soc. but reinstated in 3 yrs.
1715 RI MM ruled Q to stop branding slaves.
JOHN WOOLMAN – NJ Q. His role in NE-NY antisl reform difficult to measure. 1760 – Newport (RI) YM began quiet campaign for some antiSl reforms. Resistance from elderly Q – abolition of property. YM ruled against buy & sell sl., & eventually expel Q who refused to manumit. By time of Am Rev, few Q owned SL in NEng. NY Qs still held. Oblong MM 1767 said SL inconsistent w/ Xty. 1774 Purchase QM required sl to be free – f at 18, & m at 21. [illegible]
? Smith]

Worrall. Q in Col NE

Quakers in The world

Ch. 10 ECON + SOC CONDITIONS

Q in R.I. wealthiest, than Plym + Lg Is.. Salem had
mercantile wealth poorest Q. Wealthy Q in Newport – W. Codd, N.
Easton, H Bull, W. Clarke, Ann Bull (widow of Easton + Bull) Thos Richardson, Jn + Gideon Wantons, Jos.
ships trade Jacobs, Abe Redwood. Middling Q – farmers + artisans, Few indigent on Aquid.
NYC had few Q in 17th c; most Q in Flush area.
Mid 18th c – some Q in NYC – not powerful merchants – more middling – artisans, Shopkeepers. Providence had few Q in col. period. Most Dartmouth Q farmed.
Area of greatest growth in late col period of Q migrants was
CORNELL Hud R Valley. Good land at Oblong + cheap. – + came from RI, Lg Is + Ms. + Nantucket. Steady migr. 1750–1770, + became a flood in 1775, esp. to NINE Partners M.M. – farmers & tradesmen i.e. shoemakers, weaver, tailor, carpenter.
Hard to get started – Br evac – war, econ privation

CH. 11 RETROSPECT – from persecuted + detested zealots to peaceable Q to change world w/o Attainment of Respectability. Accomodation 1720–1730's. Doctrine widely for respectability. David Sands conversionment of people from
PURSUE THIS → other churches. ↓ of 9 Partners M.M. By 1790 Q taking on a more evangelical cast. 1771 F. in MM could accept or disown other F. In NY 1749 – F elders appt; 1781 both M + F MM had to concur in disownment. Est Q schools to isolate, educ only by Q. – most Q farmed, Flush MM school 1709. Westbury Q school 1780's. but schoolmaster had himself disowned for indecent fondling of girl students. Hudson V for want of funds no MM school for Q – altho some Q taught school: Indians – little affection for by N Eng Q 1706 – "barbarous" "tawnies" – Narragansetts.

Harvey. Rise of Q.
[HOPELESSLY DULL BOOK — DID NOT COMPLETE]

3
2. Early Life of Geo Fox.
1624 b. Leicestershire to a weaver
Message of Early Q. – 1 all-pervading thought — The Light within – "The Kingdom of God is within you." Light of Christ shines still for all men in the inmost of their souls. Somewhere, in us but not of us, there shines a ray of that Divine Life which was given to the world in all fulness in Jesus of Nazareth. If we obey this Light of Christ in our hearts, even tho our knowledge be most incomplete, the Divine Life that witnesses to the evil within & inspires to good will flow thru us, guiding us to truth, & bring to birth a new nature within us, which conquers sin & overcomes evil with good. In every human heart there speaks the voice of God. Primitive Xty revived. Central doctrine of Q — the Universal & saving Light of Christ in the heart – immediate revelation of Christ in every heart – spiritual experience

Early Q did not neglect Bible, but did not make an idol of a book.

THOS. & THOS. HIST. OF FRIENDS 1st APP

4. Thomas & Thomas: Hist of the Friends in America 1919
b. 1624 Drayton, Leicestshire - G Fox.
1647 - began preaching - in churchyard
Educ - little school
Missionary activity of early Q only been equalled in mod X by Jesuits.
- visiting Oliver Cromwell, Pope, Sultan,
in absolute unhesitating obedience to what was believed to be the will of God - Jas Parnell, Jas Dickenson + Wm Caton began to pr at 18 - no distinct creed only Christ. The phrase "Inner Light" not used by Fox or early Q. - they said "The Light of Christ" or simply the "Light." Other beliefs: no sacraments
1. no oaths 6. plain speech 8. anti war from 1650
2. against tithes 7. Mo + da by numeral (also Bapt). 9. simple dress, not uniformity
3. titles of compliment Mr etc (but king, duke, justice OK)
4. unbared head - to be practiced only toward God
Fox's 1st convert - Elizabeth Hooton, was 1st preacher after Fox.

Ch. 2. Discipline + Doctrine
1693 - earliest formal statement, after Keith left Soc to become bitter enemy

Q on Long Is.
1666 + 1671 - John Burnyeat at Oyster Bay YM
Spring 1672. G Fox visit accompanied by J Burnyeat, Robt Widders at Geo Pattison for 4 days for worship + business meet - over some schism. On to R.I., N. Eng + ret Lg Is. Aug. for meetings at Oyster Bay, Rye, Flushing + Gravesend. SEE JOURNAL
1676 Q. troubled w Ranters - people who troubled Q. meet by sing/dance in a rude manner.

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THOS. & THOS. HIST. OF FRIENDS IN AM

b.1748 Elias Hicks 1748-1830 – 1748 – Hempstead Twp Lg. Is. N.Y.
.1830 His father joined Q soon after this birth. EH Eloquent & pop preacher on Lg. Is. – powerful build, indomitable will. Elem. educ. Ascetic condemned amusements. Central doct – 'God is a Spirit' – hence, ~~advent~~ advent & work of Jesus in the flesh, the Scriptures not essential. The "Light Within" the only light any one need follow. Scriptures could be understood only by inspiration, else do more harm than good.

Cause of schism – EH teachings as to the person & work of Jesus. [Research details for clarity, or interpretation].

~~ORTHODOX Q~~

LUCRETIA MOTT, d/o Thos & Anna Coffin, b Nantucket 1793 m. Jas Mott, Jr 1811, d 1880. Extreme radical. Doubted hereafter. Considered Bible a dangerous book. Zealous. Anti-slavery. Much philanthropy & moral reform from Hicksites, & educ as Swarthmore ?? 1869 1838

rthodox 1796 1st boarding school for Q – coed at Nine Partners, NY, Dutchess Co.

1819 Prov R.I. Q Bd Sch – now Brown Univ.

1859 Earlham Coll – Richmond, Ind.

1891 Fox (Pac Coll.) Newberg, Ore.

1901 Whittier, Calif.

1898 Friends Univ. Wichita Ks.

Bryn Mawr f. by Q

prof. of hist. at Swarthmore Coll. 2.1

D. Fr Ch. (4.) TOLLES, FREDERICK B. MEETING HOUSE & COUNTING HOUSE: Quaker Merchants of Colonial Phila. 1682-1763. thereafter abbrev. as Tolles, M&C.

Tp Preface - 2 types of Q.

(1. committed, no compromise - as prophets, martyrs & saints such as Fox, Mary Dyer, Jn Woolman, Wm Penn

(2. Q. principles as worked out in comm & St, yielding & submitting to gain an end

CH. 1 2 Plantations Inward & Outward - a New Jerusalem Holy Experiment

1682 Geo Fox aware Q. in act of making outward plant. in Am

WITHIN - Penn - Light of Jesus Christ Within Them as the Seed & Leaven of The Kingdom of God - .

Vote: Bible from 1680 Barclay in Antipology: Scotch apologist of Q.

Q. regarded Scriptures as "a Declaration of The Fountain, but not the Fountain itself."

Q. neither Prot nor Cath. & suspect in view of both. A variety of mystical religion, or more properly "enthusiasm" in activism, not quietism; & perfectionist - sinless perfection. Pristine evangelical ardor (to Pope & Sultan) - when that cooled, Q. abandoned Global outreach & dev. life of a "peculiar people." Belief - all humans rec'd a measure of God's light, hence all were = & must be treated =. no spec. speech for superiors, no bowing & scraping; care for poor & born; plain dress, living & integrity. Ostentation ban - dress, furniture, meet ho, homes; And judicial oaths - meant dbl standard of truth-telling; fixed prices to prevent haggling. Arts & music useless & dangerous; inconsistency of war w/ love & peace. non-resistance Identified divine law primarily w/ Sermon on the Mount in Gospels. A land of Q. brought by Spirit into perfection like Adam before Fall would become a second Eden & Coercive State not necessary Then.

WITHOUT - An "Holy Experiment," Q. experiment in gov't

1682-1701 undisputed Q. beginning in Pa - majority

1701-1718 from Penn's 2nd departure to death - pol. strife. David Lloyd, Jas Logan, Anglicans, Isaac Norris, Richard Hill

TOLLES: M&C

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apostolic goal

1718 – 1736 – yrs of peace. Influx of Ger– Scot Ir press against Ind frontier. ~~Geo~~ Q. refusal to appropriate defense money for frontier.

1736 – 1756 – anti-Proprietary feeling

1750s – Q. could not remain in office, & be consistent Q. & resigned. Re. Military.

Ch 2. Door of Mercy.

1678 London – 10,000 Q, among poorer cl. To Phila

Q. never took firm hold in wealthiest regions.

Welsh Qks

Phila Q. mostly Eng. Most of Welsh Q. set. Welsh Tract nw of Phila.. Motives for Emigration:

1. haven for persecuted, mixed w/ econ motives.
2. promise of a "peaceable life"

(2. Pa perceived as "a virgin elysian shore"

(3. to escape corrupt Restoration Eng

(4. 17th c goal to convert Ind out of heathenism

Social Origins: Contrary to belief, 1st Pa settlers not of well-to-do ~~substantial~~ class, but of lower strata – plebian yeomen, tinkers, tradesmen, mechanics & shopkeepers, manual workers as smith, sawyer, cooper, weaver, shoemaker – of moderate or humble circumstances – ~~C~~ carpenters, chandler,

Great merchants came via other Am Col – Barbados, Jamaica, Boston, etc.

Ch. 3 WAY TO WEALTH – scrupulous honesty, strict truthfulness, yea, yea nay, nay

Virtues: – honesty, prudence

diligence – shun diversions – frugality "A Penny saved is a penny got" (Wm Penn 1st wrote this, 60 years before not B Franklin)

1701 – Pa Assembly composed largely of Q.

1769 – of richest 17 in Phila – 8 were Q & 4 more ~~had~~ been reared as Q.

Tendency to be quiet, uncommun, close-mouthed, very orderly.

TOLLES: M & C

CH.4 Holy Community:

Puritan view of poverty - crime, disgrace, visible sign of God's punish for laziness & improvidence. Q view - all men of Seed of God, & if in misfortune, deserved love & help.

Q. MM funds for relief of Needy members, & relief of all poor, in disasters such as fire 1740 in Charleston SC., 1755

CHARITY Shawnees Burned Moravian village in Pa - wagons of blankets, shoes, etc. Also 1755 3 boats of Acadian exiles of Nova Scotia arr Dela R. Same relief work cont by modern Am Friends Service Committee.

MM. warned against over extending business more than they were able to manage, trading beyond their abilities; encouraged will making in days of health. Bankrupts who did not intend to pay debts were disowned. Discourage law suits, but to settle out of court. Q rarely let disagreements w/ other Q go to the courts. Q had a testimon

1761 against games of chance - lottery - : ACQUISITIVENESS. Woolman: "Hardly any Thing is given us for our selves, but the Publick may claim a Share with us.... we are but Stewards, and to hoard up all to our selv is great injustice as well as ingratitude." Hms. Sin of avarice. Dilemma: industry brings prosperity; acquisition leads to luxury & pride.

CH.5 COUNTING HOUSE

Dela R. port Phila rapid rise to commercial supremacy, surpa in Br empire only by London & Bristol. Phila busine

1738 to W Ind - bread, flour, pork, maize, HOGSHEAD STAVES, hoop, shi

NOTE: Wm Thorn cedar cooper 1712-15

to Port - wheat, flour, PIPE STAVES

to Ireland - flax seed, flour, oak & walnut planks, BARRE STAVES

to Eng - skins, tobac, beeswax, STAVES of all kinds, pig iron, tar, pitch, shi

P5

Tolles M&C

under benevolent rule of Q. oligarchy

Econ:

Q. landholding ^Phila^ fam - Saml Carpenter - over 8000 A includ lg est in Bucks Co, Isaac Norris I by 1712 sole owner of 7200 A. & later got nearly 7000 more, Also, Morrises, Pembertons, Popes, Drinkers. Isaac Norris estate 1766 = nearly £25000 Morris, d. 1763 - lands valued £11,157. Much of Pemberton estate in land = £25,000.

Female inventor } One ^Phila^ Q inventor - Sybilla Masters (d. 1720) - invented & patented a new process for cleaning & curing maize; a method of weaving hats from palmetto, leaves, chips & straw; perfected a kind of hominy called "Tuscarora rice" which she sold as a cure for consumption.

POTTS of Phila. Q. joined Q. ironmaster [Thos. Rutter, Eng. Q. (foll. Keith in 1690)] in erecting 1st blast furnace at nearby Colebrookdale, named for furnace of Abraham Darby, great Eng Q ironmaster. [Ref: see Forges & Furnaces of Prov of Pa.].

NOTE

POTTS of Phila.

1721-23. bursting of S. Sea Bubble & Pa econ. depression. Laborers forced to leave Phila. Shortage of metallic currency paper money printed.

CH. 6 Quaker GRANDEES

Wm Penn defended egalitarianism but made it clear Q. did not intend to do away w/ social distinctions - still showed respect - obed to superiors, love to equals, help to inferiors. ? Barclay (apologist) urged "decent respect due to men" - subjects to king, inferiors to superiors, children to parents, servants to Masters. - but don't say 'you

Arist Rise of Q aristocracy - gentlemen - even Penn expected "great Men" to be country gentlemen & do good - more able, more leisure to gather polish, more traveled learning,

Tolles: M&C.

mercantile aristocrats
other nations to benefit Pa. Penn did not allow NY like
patronships by stipulating no purchaser to buy more than
1000 A in one place unless within 3 yrs. he settled a family
on ea. 1000 A. — abolished primogeniture by requiring
equal division of prop. to heirs.
1698 certain Bristol coopers worth 100's if not 1000's of £s. Some
2 decades later — many who came as indentured servants
COOPER AGE were now masters of great estates. Q. John Bringhurst
1691-1750 apprenticed 1701 to Phila COOPER became
wealthy; learned navigation + resumed cooperage
business. By 1736 — invested in sloop to ~~slup~~ pipestaves &
beeswax to ~~to W. Ind.~~ 1748 was named Elder in MM.
Those who id themselves as carpenter, joiner or cooper
may have men of substance investing in large real estate.
Wealthy Q — S. Richardson, John Delavall, Isaac Norris, Jonathan
Dickinson, R. Hill, S. Carpenter, Jas Logan, T. Masters, S. Preston +
Merchants — Pembertons, J Smith, A Morris, F. Rawle, E. Warner.
Q. rules re "marrying out" made for strong rel. sanction of inter-
marriage: Fox saw lawyers as "like a black pit, al-
most covered over w/ blackness," Until 1722 — illegal to
practice law for money in Pa.
Wealthy conformity to the world — (as spirituality declined)
1764 costly apparell, fashionable furniture, silver watches.
Rich countered + "use of the creation" Barclay's phrase
i.e. scale of living should reflect am't of one's worldly goods.
SAML COMBE Bristol cooper in Phila.
1695 Phila YM — even Q. beg. to wear fashionable — long lapped
apparell sleeves, superfluous buttons, broad ribbons on hats,
curled periwigs, immodest hair dos, long scarves, striped
or flowered material —

conspicuous consumption concealed
"plainness" in this period did not mean the later plain dress of Q., but it was ordinary garb w/o ornaments, lace, ribbons etc. Rich f. agreed w/ Margaret Fox that drab attire requirement was "a silly poor gospel." – & they wore colorful gowns, & green or blue aprons. Q garb was plain, but of very costly fine material. Houses & furniture – early Georgian brick – doorways plainer than non-Q.; oriental black corner cupboards w/ no red – mahogany furniture, Turkey carpets, silverware in teapots, candlesticks I. John Woolman 1770 aversion to silver refused drink from rich Phila Q. silver, but requested drink in another vessel. Q. frowned on oil paintings of their likeness, but did not object to cut silhouettes (cheap & black). Ordered coach in "sad coullour" – horses black or bay.

Anglican & Presby neighbors

COUNTRY – rich Q had plantation houses to escape city heat – in Bucks Co. – for weekends, or summers. – within 10 mi. of city. – small villas w/woods, hedges, flower garden, meadow, river

1698 DIVERSIONS – chief wer gardening & feasting – tulips, roses, lilies, carnations, pinks., clipped evergreens. Melons, strawberries, goose berries. Feasts at weddings, altho Q elders fumed against the extravagance. Restraint in

1749 drinking – not total abstinence yet – beer, porter, wine punch. Against diversions which wasted time – foot & horse for hunting races, dance & theater, battledores & shuttlecocks. OK'd were tea, skate, sleigh parties. Some Q. sons went over to Ch of Eng. "Worldly" Q. who remained called "wet white Q" – who went to worship but not allegiance to M Mor QM. for discipline. – wore ribbon & lace

Pa. TOLLES: MOC 33

CH. 7 ATTITUDES towards READING

Wm Penn's list of most val bks includ Bible, Augustine's City of God, The Imitation of Christ, Plutarch's Lives, More's Utopia, histories of Thucydides.

Q view read prophets for salvation, & generally a waste of precious time. By end of col period Q read for pleasure & a variety of books & Q. lit

EDUC. – myth that Q hostile to educ. Fox against univ. & also W. Penn, but Phila had coll men, but Q did not est coll in Col. Pa but did ed. ch. in elem. Q. rich taught girls French. Logan knew Gr, Lat & Heb. by age 13. later spoke Fr, It, Sp.

1710 – nearly every Q home had Barclay's Apology. Several of first Directors of B Franklin's Orig Library Co were Q. – nearly 1/2 of its subscribers were Q.

BOOKS OF 1ST SETTLERS – ave Q. had Bible, Barclay's Apology for The True Xtn Divinity & Fox's Journal were ubiquitous. Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress, Baxter's Saints.

CH 8 READING FOR DELIGHT & PROFIT

"Friends Books" (Penn's No Cross, No Crown), & Bible – KJV. in most Q lit. Q. did not ? slight Scriptures. Q merchants sold commentaries, concordances, compendium of Brit chronology, devotional writings. B, Franklin 1734 bound a "Dutch Barclay."

1736

Both true

frequent charge that Q simplified Theology & hostile to clergy & near Deists. Q took issue w HOBBES phil position that the state of nature is a state of War. Jas Logan, Q Phila merchant – a thinker, philo. speculation. He denied

THOS HOBBES, Leviathan

TOLLES: M&C 34

Quakerism is a variant expression of Puritanism.

Philosophy:– Read Locke, Plato, Seneca, Aristotle, Descartes, Hobbes

Who is he? THOS. STORY Journal 16 yrs in Pa.

STORY's position that reason & the affections were unsafe guides in moral & religious matters except when enlightened by The divine Light. He^{JL} was prone to believe that "something divine attends Mankind," operating upon the natural conscience, & that "when ardent desires are poured in the heart to know the Will of God, to be enabled to perform it, & to have some communion with him, it purifies, animates, & strengthens".

POLITICS & LAWS:– As most of Phila merchants read ancient & contemporary phil, so they read major classics of pol. theory. Plato, Aristotle, Machiavelli, Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, Grotius & thus were immersed in the mundane world of human gov't & jurisprudence.

SCIENCE, MEDICINE & PRACTICAL ARTS:

1708. Newton's Principia Mathematica. Logan Lib had this, & Gr Math – Archimedes, Euclid, Ptolemy; Copernicus, Galileo, Kepler; works of R & F Bacon, Harvey. Utilitarian manuals existed on shipwright, navigation, beekeeping, metallurgy, gardening, orchards

HIST, BIOG, TRAVEL: Books on – Gr & Rom hist, Neth, Sp, Brit & Ire, church hist, La. & Va. Biog. of Copernicus, Henry VIII, Lives of the Popes, Cotton Mather. Travel lit pop among all Eng readers in 18th c, – Hakluyt, Humphrey Gilbert; Some read Shakespeare's plays & some novels such as Fielding's Tom Jones; as one ~~[illegible]~~ man wrote: "Friends' writings & even the holy scriptures were irksome to me–"

CH. 9 SCIENCE:–

Q. aptitude for sci. pursuits as There's relationship between rel. & econ activity. Both Q. & Pur. vindicated

Tolles. M&C.

Q – the most mystical of Prot. sects.

place of sci in educ & recommended its study & ex-
perimentation as an acceptable form of recreation
(no theater, ballroom, gambling, bullbaiting). Wm Penn
rec. study of Navigation, Arithmatic, Geometry,
husbandry, gardening, handicraft, medicine as "form
of recreation consistent w/ Truth. [from No
Cross, No Crown). Man is endowed by God with
natural reason in addition to the Inner Light.
1681 Nov, less than a yr before emm. to Pa, Wm Penn was "pro-
pounded Candidate" of The Royal Soc. of London, The principal
nursery of the new science. – actually elected as a Fellow.
9 Nov. 1681. when he presented to the Soc. a map of Pa.
[Cotton Mather – also scientifically minded].
Early Pa had no law against witchcraft – only witch trial 10 yrs
before Salem trials, case dismissed
Q. Dr J Goodson of Phila. recog. mental disorder as disease when
usually regarded as demoniacal possession. Prov
1751 for insane 1 reason for f. Pa Hosp. Most Phila med.
in 1st qt c. in hands of Welsh Q.
CH.10 Inner Plantation & Outer.
1756 Conflict over mil. defense of frontiers caused Q. to retire
from active pol – after 75 yrs. return to inner.
"A peculiar people" under discipline of MM.
1702 – Phila only 20 yrs old had 1/3 Q pop. followed by
great immigration from Ger & Ire.
1750 – Phila had 800 Q families, or 1/4 of pop.
1760 Phila pop 20,000 w/ 1/5 Q.
1702 – Q in segregated bury grounds, by 1720 many
disowned for marry out.

Pa. Tolles: M&C.

Quakerism - residual Calvinism
withdrawing from the spirit of the world

1740's Gr Awakening in Phila - not many Q joined in & JGWhittier's poetically opined the Q. "with coat of asbestos proof to fire" - from "The Preacher" 1894 & cont to build sectarian walls.

1756 War declared against Dela Ind. & Q abdicated offices. The "holy experiment" came to an end.

1756-58. Q. reformation period - complete separation from the world vs. compromise (re comfortable living). Snares - sumptuous dwellings, equipage, dress, furniture, tables.

after 1775 Following Am Rev - a period of evangelical piety & humanitarian effort. Emphasis on plainness of speech, behavior, apparel, furniture, guarded educ, temperance, manumission, & withdrawal from baneful influences of the world. → [more like Mennonites]

Acc. to sociologists: Churches lives on compromise & is heard; sect rejects compromise & insists on "perfection;" literal obedience to Sermon on Mount, renouncing the world (or attacks it in a radical spirit) thus courting ~~perfection~~ persecution & suppression, & is always in danger of being ineffectual.

1682-1756 residual Calvinism in Q. tried to "transform" the world - & did in civil lib, racism, humanitarianism, public welfare - by compromise in the "holy experiment" but as pop. became more non-Q - until Q became wealthy, fond of luxury & ostentation & knew these to be wholly out of harmony w/ simplicity of Truth of primitive Fr. Love of power, ambition of superiority, desire to escape suffering - salt which hath lost its savour.

thus, Holy experiment ended 1756.

TOLLES: M & C.

APPEND A. BENJ FRANKLIN & QUAKERS.

Often assumed, espec Europe, BF a Q. & capitalist He used blunder to his advantage — shrewdly. In Fr 1776 he dressed the part. Not Q. Had been apprenticed? to one; as Assembly clerk for 15 yrs knew great Q politicians + had close Q. friends. Admired Q virtues. — industry, frugality

business training from Denham, a Q merchant influenced him.

APPEND. B "Gospel Orders" — Q. method of settling disputes. arbitration in Gospel manner in MM

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Fr. Ch.
#5

Brinton, H. R. Quaker Journals:
: Varieties of Rel Exp. Among Friends: 1972

Introd: Wm James in Var of Rel Exp describes orig Q rel as rel. of veracity rooted in sp. inwardness, & a return to something like orig gos truth than men had ever known in Eng.

Ch. 1. Char. of Q. Journals:

- simplicity in writing [in keeping w all Q simplicity]
- few per. ref, except for rel.; humility, fewer I
- pride downplayed — never congrat preacher on sermon
- rarely mention theology — less orthodox than Pur.
- little " of suffering or persecution
  1. Q not an extreme form of Pur — not believing in predestination, or watching desperately for evidence of divine grace
  2. No witch hunt in Pa. At one "witch" trial in Pa. (she was acquitted), she was asked by Penn if she could fly thru air on broomstick. When she said "yes", Penn replied, "I know of no law against it."
- less anxiety in Jour than Pur; Q. had inward peace for long periods — release from fear
- "quietists" — in sense of quiet all selfish desires & motives to some "concern"

Q stages of sp dev:

1. divine revelations as child
2. youthful playfulness regretted as waste of time
3. the divided self — exhausting inner conflicts
4. "following the Light" — leading to integration
   a. milestone — standing up in meeting to speak 1st time
   b. adopting plain dress

Brinton: Q Journal

colonial times
Ch 2 Divine Revelations in Childhood (usually age 7-12
"tender impressions" of divine love
a visitation, bring sweet calmness
the Spirit of the Lord "strove with me"
operation of divine grace condemning me for evil
+ inciting me to goodness 19th c.
Pur. believed child totally depraved, + natures too.
God's instruments in the heart
Q that all had seed of Inward Light – containing an element
of truth which can be developed further

CH 3 Youthful Frivolity (age 10-15 or so)
fondness for sport, music, cards, vain conversation. [Children thought to be small adults]
behavior more frivolous – wasting time – than sinful.
such as sleigh riding, yachting "Light + airy"
Acceptable diversions = botany, ornithology + other sci.
Opposed – musical instruments, congreg. singing
(song by ind. OK if Spirit guided. 8X Fox sang).
Writing verse O.K.

→ Mid teens – early 20's.
Ch 4 The Divided Self (Pur believed it was a life long struggle)
Less prominent in females.
long wilderness – of mental conflict – "tossed" state

CH. 5 Unification Thru Silence
Mysticism f. in all rel. – largely incommunicable
+ neglected by historians.
Col Q – Q. gov 5 col – Pa, NJ, RI, Dela. & briefly NC
18th c Q strangled in rigidity. Am idealism
largely Q, not Pur.
Member ext determinants – if it relies on words
in worship (as sermons + evangel appeal) it will
create verbal formulae + propagated by the in–

Brinton - Q. Journal

lectual via lectures, discussions, books, pedagogy. If it depends on ritual — becomes liturgical. Q worship based on silence from beginning. How propagated then? By outward means such as evangelism (as Geo Whitefield). Some, as in so-called "public Friends" address crowds in London, Bristol [public ministers] orchards, etc & attempts to speak in other churches, interruption even when ministers not thru — not tolerated & thus persecuted. Much civil disobedience to certain laws —

but most Q. private — worship of a few in a home waiting for God to speak. This was the seedbed of growth.

In 17th c. - how Q became "convinced" — small meetings, living witnesses - pouring down of Spirit.

~~17~~ Edw Burrough (1634-62) writes 1658 - of gift of God's holy eternal Spirit pouring down — tongues loosed - spake w/ new tongues as the Lord gave utterance, as in days of old. He became a powerful orator & d. in prison.

prob London so-called "threshing" meetings

Francis Howgill 1618-68 also powerful orator in London. John Burnyeat 1631-90, convinced 1653 — speaks of silent meetings melting hearts as wax — Lord as sweet incense.

(Mid 17th c — Eng swarming w/ small sects)

A. Garrett 1867-1946 — there came out of the silence a distinct revelation of the Love of God — might this not be interpreted as a beginning of a "revelation" — a mystical perception of the Divine?

Brinton: Q. Journal

CH. 6. The Spoken Ministry

These mystical exp. not always noticeable. Sooner or later, necessary to take public stand. - action to "clinch the nail." a. vocal ministry b. plain behavior & thereafter feels compelled to live consistently, i.e. a kind of perfection by following the Light wherein anxieties disappears & inward peace comes whenever a difficult requirement of that Light has been met.

1. Speaking in meeting - takes courage. (ave age upon entering this ministry is 26). - a "public Friend" - has new role to live up to - changed.
Hesitancy to speak may last several years.

John Richardson 1666-1753 was cured of stammering by speaking in meeting. Jas Gough 1712-80 so embarrassed when he first spoke that he held his hat before his eyes.

Since no minister feels personally responsible [he was moved by the Spirit] for what is said in meeting, few words of praise or blame offered.

Most Q. ministers traveled - with MM minute, endorsement; had power to call special meetings - not just First Day for their "concern." But even then may not speak if not "inspired" at the moment.
He never says "I preached" or "I spoke in meeting" but rather "the power of the Lord rose up", or His presence was felt"

! Q. do not engage in intellectual reasoning or in recalling of the past.

Brunton: Q Journal

Ch 7 Adoption of Plain Speech, Dress & Simple Living
dress Q id This was notice to world of what he stood for —
purpose — to encourage him to live up to his
principles. Plain — meant simplicity, sincerity
No class distinctions — i.e. you, Your Honor, Grace, Mr
testimony against hat honor If Q is minister & travels he is no longer an ind. but
a community: Few stand out as ind. Would
not doff hat, or bow knee to any man.
1795 — Q bonnet came to Am — not trimmed. Not so
much for wearing peculiar garments as resisting chang-
ing whims of fashion. Q children required plain &
suffered for it.
Opposed to dyed clothing as it concealed dirt & injured
fabric. Felt righteous chastisement of the Lord for
disobedience re plain. Considered means of self-
discipline. Sometimes pride in plainness.
1707 Simplicity — omission of sacraments — superfulous.
people, not bldg " spec church bldg. Ch. is
Occupations banned to Q — bookseller, gold-silver
smith, tailor, etc. — all superfulous.
CH. 8 Peace Testimony:
R. Barclay says The Light unites us to God & to one
another — this summarizes Q theo & phil.
Rev War — custom to celebrate war victory by lighting all
windows. Phila Q. refused & their house seriously damaged by mob
when Cornwallis defeated at Yorktown. No Q persecution for
pacifism during Rev War, but did lose prop from both
Am. & Rev armies. During both Fr-Ind & Rev War
Q difficulty w war tax question. In all wars, Q. did relief work.
Often said joined to the Lord, & to one another.

Brinton. Q. Journal

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Ch. 9 Restriction in Business

Fox warned of "clogging" your mind w/your bus.
so that hardly anything can be done to the service
of God. [Not, like his work ethic, required to
be diligent in bus i.e. your calling, nor to spend the
profits]. For Q had no prof clergy — had to carry
(merchandise) on themselves. J Woolman confessed "The increase
of bus. became my burthen, for tho my nat'l in-
clination was towards merchandise, yet I believed
Truth required me to live more free from outward
cumbers."

Daniel Wheeler 1771-1840. gave up as prosperous seed mer-
chant to go to Russ & teach them to farm, & to S. Pacific.
Whittier in Snowbound tells of Skipper Chalkley
who mixed ship trade & traveling ministry anti-slavery.
Even M&F schoolteachers resigned from the "gain of
schoolkeeping" in order to have more freedom for rel.
service. Q reputation for honesty-earned trust;
2 Lloyds of Wales, & a Barclay dev. / banks.
Enjoy material conveniences but keep them in subordination;
do not live to eat, drink, sleep, smoke or study.
Many Q. shopkeepers vol. limited stock in line w/their
conscience — rum, gay Calico, flowered ribbons.

1798 John Comly rec'd Thos Clarkson's pamphlet against
use of W I sugar & rum" alleging that these products
were dyed scarlet in the blood of the enslaved Africans."

(1810) Elias Hicks pr. against buying any material prod by slaves.

Chris. Story 1648-1720 saw dangers in both
Poverty & Riches & prayed for neither.

Brinton: Q. Journal

CH. 10 Other Social Testimonies:
(a. Welfare of Ind (b. abolition of slaves + their educ (c. prison reform
+ of mental hospitals (d. poor relief. (e. Educ.
17th c 1st Q lobby - by Wm Penn + Geo Whitehead to infl. Parliament
1808 - 4 Q to Lancaster, Pa. to persuade leg. not to pass a bill requiring
Q. to serve in militia
(a. Ind concern began w/ Fox + Penn. Ins treat Ind as wild
beasts w/ no sense of right or wrong.
1793 - n Oh Ind sent to Phila for Q help in treaty making
Q. visited Pres c. 1865 Grant re poor conditions on Ind Res. + Grant
appt some Q to act as agents. Ind schools run by Q
in NY 1796, Oh 1822, Ks 1837, Me. 1850, NC 1880.
(b. slavery - 1793 - Q no longer bought imported slaves
By 1776 - holding a slave became a disownable offense.
1828 Q. Lundy converted Wm Lloyd Garrison to cause of
emancipation. Q Levi Coffin 1798-1877 so active he was
called "Pres of the Underground RR." he sheltered Eliza Harris
of Uncle Tom's Cabin several days after she ran from floe to
floe on Oh R to safety.
Rebecca Buffum Spring visited John Brown 2X before
his execution - re. to Jessamyn West in The Quaker Reader.
After emancipation Q f. Freedmans Assoc of Phila to help
destitute Negroes. - + assoc disbanded 1933.
(c. Treatment of insane began 1792 - 3 hosp for f. in Phila.
1817, NY 1821, + Md. 1853. Prison reform - most famous
Elizabeth Fry 1780-1845. Other prison reform concern by Q men
in Russ, Rome, Ger
QUIETISM is The doctrine that every self-centered trait
or activity must be suppressed or quieted in order that the Divine
may find unopposed entrance to the soul. - Et to become

Brinton: Q. Journal
Q theo f. largely on John 1.

like a cork on the mighty ocean of service — free from lead of human reason, conferring w/ flesh & blood, willing to be wafted hither & thither as the Spirit should blow — from Shillitoe's Journal.

CH. 11. QUAKERS AND ANIMALS.

Q theo f. largely on John 1. Short step to go on to the belief that in some degree the same Light shines in & thru animals. [Fox disagreed]. Much compassion toward. Pleasure hunting questionable, & field sports [game?] Some Q. became veg. for humanitarian reasons. Cruelty to - degrading to brute creation:

CH 12. DREAMS OF Q. JOURNALISTS.

Early Q. distrusted imagination & made consistent effort to banish superstition. No witches condemned in Q. col. Most dreams not taken seriously: a few God used; as in O.T. not. in case of Jn Briggs

CH. 13 Rel phil of Friends:

Cur: rel based on Hebrews plus predestination (see Lev. 16) - a priestly rel w/ book or creed, rituals & communion: ala R. Cath.

Q. rel. based on John's Gospel - direct access to God.

Writings of Fox, Barclay & Wm Penn - 3 principal founders - say little re salvation thru blood atonement & need of intercession between men & God - so Q. persecuted as non-Xtn - maybe not Prot. Re as anarchists, recognizing no authority except Inward Light.

Q. "heresies" include —

1. Universalism - men of all rel. can be saved if they follow the Light they have.
2. Deism - 1 God & we're not entirely dep. on Bible to discover what he says to men

Brinton: Q. Journal

proof of God's existence by reason & revelation

(3. Mysticism – we can know God directly & immediately & we can receive His revelations inwardly.

(Fox) in journal: they were discoursing of the blood of Christ ... I saw, thru the immediate opening of the invisible Spirit, the blood of Christ. And I cried out among them, & said, "Do ye not see the blood of Christ? see it in your hearts, to sprinkle your hearts & consciences from dead works to serve the living God..."

Blood of Christ

John Woolman's Journal criticized by 19th c Orthodox Q. for not mentioning Trinity or salvation by the blood of Christ. Q. did not accept Trinity theo of Lus. Considered temporal Jesus to be true incarnation of eternal Christ, the Creator, & the Light of the world.

Q. also diff. from Luth/Anglic in believing in possibility of perfection – by living up to whatever "measure" of light they had.

(1 18th c) Methodism had great influence on Q. & began to emphasize Heb, blood atonement, the historical Christ & less emphasis on gos. of John & the eternal Christ – revived further by Q. Stephen Grellet, Jos. Hoag, Thos. Shillitoe.

Hicksites

Leaders holding to orig. liberal theology were Job Scott, ELIAS HICKS, John Comly & John Wilbur.

HICKSITES did not follow early Q. in declaring that Jesus Christ was an incarnation of God, tending to make Christ just another prophet whereas early Q. worshipped & reverenced Him. Hicksites repudiated doct. of blood atonement & tended to be more rational & intellectual, basing rel. on head, not heart. It lacked emotional power & force of early Q. that enabled first Q. to withstand persecution w/ enthusiasm.

Brinton: Q. Journal
Edw. Hicks painter of Peaceable Kingdom was a cousin of Elias Hicks

Out of this confusion, rose 4 Q groups.
1. ORTHODOX 2 HICKSITES 3. WILBURITES. 4. GURNEYITES.
Gurneyites closest to Pur. theo.
1847 No X'n love between these groups
Gurneyites attacked by Wilburites as being more Anglican than Q.
Hicksites theo closer to founders Fox, Penn & Barclay than Orthodox theo. Attacked viciously by Orthodox.
Orthodox - principal asset was a personal devotion to Christ - a powerful force
Wm Penn - wrote Sandy Foundation Shaken 1668 containing Universalism & Deism & was imprisoned in Tower of London. where he wrote Innocency With Her Open Face 1669 where he strongly emphasized lordship & divinity of Christ, & he was released, altho he never mention Holy Spirit since he believed it was the Christ within
Orthodox 2 - more emotional
Hicksite 2 - more intellectually acceptable.
But eventually both were reconciled 1950's. —
but not Gurneyites - more Methodist. who in 1887 at Richmond, Ind wrote evangelical creed called a "Declaration of Faith
But the doct of Atonement not completely rejected.

Brinton: Quaker Journals

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#6 Bacon, Margaret H. The Quiet Rebels: Story of the Quakers in America.

Ch. 1 Origins Who Are Q?

1656 Jl. 11 – 2 women on Swallow sailed into Boston (Mass Bay Col – 27 yrs. old) searched for blasphemous doc – 100 such books found & burned by the hangman. F. in prison for 5 wks & searched for witch marks & sent to Barbados: Mary Fisher, 22, servant girl & Ann Austin, midage mother of 5.

1750 "withdrawal from World" to become a "peculiar people" – small growth.

19th c. schisms & separations further weakened.

Rev War X – of 1½ mill pop – 50,000 Q.

Disproportionate influ. on Hist i.e. rel liberty, racial equality, CO, civil disobedience – in law & custom. Treatment of Ind, Negroes, prisoners & insane.

Q belief – "there is that of God in every man" – & is worthy of reverence, & ea. has seed to illuminate his conscience & help him grow spiritually. Rel. exp. matters more than theo. Direct exp of God – sit quietly & search diligently. – all have capacity for rel. exp. Simple worship, no trained clergy, disciplined use of silence. (Drawbacks – woolgathering, sleepiness, empty forms for exhausted farmers.

19th c – many Q after evang. revival now had churches & programmed worship w hymns, Bible reading & preaching. Decisions made not by voting but by group "sense of meeting" determined by clerk – 1 dissenting opinion stops all. Slow process.

Ch. 2. Br Beginnings

17th Eng – a Cauldron of rel controversy – sects: (1. Family of Love, 16th c – nonviolence & silent worship (2 Anabaptists – rejected infant bapt, payment of tithes, taking of oaths.

Bacon Quiet Reb

(3. Seekers - anti clerical, Bible to be interpreted by Spirit.
(4. Ranters - strong emotion divine, & they were above sin.
All rejected hypocritical soc of their day (like Hippies).
Some wore long hair & beards - (Pur made it a kind of holiness to wear short hair).
Q. absorbed most, & many of their ideas - of Levellers, Diggers, Ranters & Seekers.

1624 Fox grew up as Pur. in home of "Righteous Christer" the weaver. Saw hypocrisy. Apprentice to cobbler shoe maker. & sometimes tended sheep, reading his Bible. Often traveled, talked to preachers from age 19. 1647 - spiritual break-through - "I heard a voice which said, 'There is one even Christ Jesus, that can speak to thy condition'." Wandered, interrupted ch. services, jailed.

1652 - Q. date from here. at Pendle Hill & made converts of the Seekers by the 100's. Personal magnetism. 1st called Children of the Light. 1669 mar. Margaret Fell, 11 yrs widow w/ 7 ch. Q. persecuted - thought to be of devil, Catholic anarchist, blasphemous, vagrants. Anti-clerical & tithe. Conducted own weddings & persecuted for illegal cohabitation. Refusal to swear oathes & doff hats in contrast to Cavalier's who made sweeping elaborate bows, & poor to doff hats to same. Rem. hat only in the presence of God. "You" to betters. Refused to swear
after 1655 Oath of Abjuration to prove they were not Cath. Released from Derby prison, Cromwell's army offered him post as capt; he refused & thought to be disloyal. Some Q. were in Cromwell's army. Inconsistent to kill a man if you thought "there was that of God in every man."

1660 - Q. took stand against war in Eng.

Hats off during prayer

Eng.

1689 In first 40 yrs of Soc – 15000 Q. imprisoned. When Act of Toleration finally passed. Fox jailed 8X. 450 Q. died in prison for their beliefs by 1689.

1660 Chas II (Restoration) set 700 Q free, but persecution began again making for cohesiveness. Converts from Ranters brought hysteria – excess – not easy to differentiate between ego & promptings of Spirit. Samuel Pepys saw 1 Q naked except for loin cloth w/ platter of smoking brimstone on head. Fox beg. org. MM, QM, & YM in Eng & Am to counterbalance excesses & check. w/ group to nourish.. F prominent. Rapid growth. Generally joyous – Q belief in perfection, not depravity; no need to feel lost in sin, or condemned to hellfire as Pur.. Ebullient youth traveled to Pope & Sultan

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FLUSHING

CH 2 Q. Come to Am.

17th Pondering N.T., question Calvin doctrines. Little groups like Seekers came. In Bay Col - Anne Hutchinson - obtain salvation thru direct exp w/God's grace, not strict rules of law. bent on creating theocracy, a State ruled by God ala O.T. Banished.

1656 Feared Q dissent also - cause Saints to desert est ch. i.e heresy, work of devil. 8 more came, laws against Q made

1657 Jo. Woodhouse w/ 11 Q to Lg Is NY + Newport R.I. Compelled to plant seed in Bay Col + persecuted; missionaries beaten, jailed: Cart + Whip Act passed.

1665 - 1675 lull in Boston persecution of Q.

1675 (King Phil War) Day of Humiliation for sins of neglecting to teach young, wearing of long hair, + neglect to suppress Q. New law - fine any who attended Q meeting; enforced 2 years 1677.

Ag. 16 1657 Woodhouse 2 Dominie's wrote re "Q landing at New Neth or Amster. Fired no salute. Stood before P Stuy. - hat on head like a goat Left 2 women behind (also 3 others) (went on to R.I. in bwks): (Mary Weatherhead + Dorothy Waugh) who quaked + cried out in street to repent for Day of Judgment was at hand.

[Mag. Dury] Sheriff seized both by head + led them to prison for 8 da. + sent hands tied behind them to R.I. - the sewer of New Eng." Meanwhile the 3 men - Robt Hodgson, Rich. Doudney + Sarah Gibbons went to Long Is. &

[Cornell] around Gravesend, Jamaica + Hempstead found group of Seekers trying to escape N Eng persec. Their

Lady Moody leader was Lady Deborah Moody + the Moody group ready for Q. message + welcomed them Only Robt Hodgson stayed behind long - at

FLUSHING

[Cornell] Hempstead. Found by Stuy men, tied to cart tail, & marched
to Brooklyn Ferry. In New Amster tried, sentenced to hard labor
at wheelbarrow for 2 yrs.. Beaten for refusing, & returned to
prison. Manhattan Dutch (liberty) obj. to this & persuaded
P.S. to release RH & sent him to R.I.

1658 P. Stuy. suppressed Q heresy on L.I. - Anti-Q (like Ms) passed.
Revived old "gathering place" (conventicle) law. Henry
Bowne? Townsend, Flushing, 1st to suffer. heavily fined, re-
fused to pay & beaten & jailed. Flushing people angered
& remonstrated re rights of conscience. Authorities of New
Am. penalized "Remonstrance signers" & Flushing

1659 - Q. meet - Setauket, Oyster Bay, Hempstead, Gravesend.
Few yrs later - Westbury & Matinecock

1662 4 Barbadoes citizens bought Shelter Is & made it Q sanctuary.
John Bowne, Flushing - conscience struggle - fined for
also allowing his home as gathering place. Refused to pay fine,
& sent back to Amsterdam, & he presented his case to Company
Directors & indignant they sent strong letter back to P.S. -
"It is our opinion that ... the consciences of men
ought to remain free & unshackled. Let everyone
remain free as long as he is modest, moderate, & his
political conduct is irreproachable." P.S. left Q. alone.

1664 Br. guaranteed rel liberty. Never persecuted thereafter as
govt policy. Feared as heretics. In Va. opposed to
1658 est Ch - Anglic. 3 of Woodhouse crew planted seed in Va.
Similar laws for suppressing Q. - identifying same by
their refusal to have their ch. bapt. Also in Maryland -
COLE JOSIAH COALE jailed re 1658 for refusal to take oath. Thought
to be revolutionaries, determined to undermine civil govt.

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Q. travel missionaries - Wm Edmundson, John Burnyeat, Thos. Chalkley, John Richardson, David Sands, John Fothergill - spread Word from Maine to Ga. & to link up Q groups.

1671-73 Fox traveled thruout colonies.

Role in govt - Q. rule in N.C. until 1704 when Parliament demanded OATH of allegiance to Queen Anne. Thruout R.I. - Q. gov for 36 yrs. Compromised pacifist to keep charter over war w/ Dutch & Ind. "liberty of conscience" written into RI laws.

2nd gen. Q - lost first's ardor enthusiasm, but had Q. loyalty. & turned to meeting control & discipline - keep in line - disowning MM, QM - partly soc. gatherings - est. small Q. schools, "cleared" for marriage by overseers - not taking a husband of ye world - quarrels - reputation - truthfulness. Honesty dev fixed price, not haggling. Business grew. In Eng prof & govt closed to Q - anti oath; so, they entered wool & cloth trades, banking, brewing; in Am - prosperous farmers & whalers. (19th c, became anti-alcohol) Early Q drank ale, rum, beer

Mov to "a separated people"

2nd gen dress - peculiar - Q gray, broad-brimmed hat, bonnet. Plain but very good materials +

Silly poor gospel - Margaret Fell d 1702

Good rel. w/ Ind - saw them as children of God. & treated "white"; not make Ind captives slaves, & were hence trusted.

Q. worked fields w/o firearms, left latchstring out; left their children w/ Ind & went to QM.

CH. 4 THE HOLY EXPERIMENT

1660 travel. Q JOSIAH COALE visited Inds of Susquehanna

Wm Penn aristocrat, student of rel & govt, wanted Holy Exp.

1674 West Jersey purchased by 2 Q quarreled over land ÷ & Penn became 1 of 3 prop. East Jersey turned over to 12 prop,

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Wm Penn

one of Them Penn. Helped Q set of W Jersey w/charter
1681 of Rel. liberty: 1400 Q in W Jersey.
Penn expel for dissent from Oxford, son of Admiral.
As boy of 12 influ by Q. T. Loe in Ire: where family had
estates. After study in Fr 1yr, back to Ire. Became Friend.
1671, 1677, 1686 – tr. in Holl & Ger. visited Q. Close to Court of Jas II
& got many Q released from prison. Petitioned Chas II
for grant of Pa. – 1681. But already 3,000 Dutch, Swedes
& Eng lived in territory. Recruited more. Planned Phila
w/help of friend John Locke wrote plan for gov't. of Q. & revised
1701 – 1776 Pa constitution not changed
1682 – Penn arr aboard Welcome, & spent 2 yrs in action
1684 – 1699 Back in Eng. for 15 yrs. Gov. Pa from London.
1699 – 1701 Back in Pa. for 2 yrs. Penn angry because
quitrents (source of income) slow & went into debt.
To Eng king, Pa not successful col.: Q would not vote $
for common defense – violated pacifist views; poor
source of revenue for Eng.
1694 Penn fell out of favor for supporting deposed James II.
& king seized Pa. & let N.Y.'s Gov Fletcher gov it.
1696 Pa restored to Wm Penn who went bankrupt 1708
+ Q paid £7000 on debts & got him released from Old Bailey.
1712 Penn had stroke, 1718 d.
Co. Fair in Ind/land policy & they called him ONAS "Quill"
meaning Pen. Accepted immigrants regardless of creed
or nationality from Holl, Ger, Fr, Br Isles. Phila
grew rapidly, a port on the Del R. of London ships
Became commercial leader ahead of Boston & N.Y.
Wealthy Q merchants – aristocracy – family dynasties.

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Q prejudice against coll — had small Q schools elementary &
took in poor, free. Some sons to Europe & ret. as wet Q
& joined Anglic. Dev of soc concerns: Q never tricked Ind
at bargaining table w/ liquior; Penn's sons only
nominal Q — out for gain. 1686 Penn agreed
to buy Bucks Co land as far as man could walk in a day &
a half i.e. about 30 MI. Thos Penn tricked Ind — 1737 had
BUCKS Co. PA 2 trained athletes (underbrush cleared, supply horses, &
ferry boats readied) & walk went 60 MI., not 30. —
Called "Walking Purchase". — sym of Ind fury
to Minisinks. Q-dom leg. refused to appropriate funds
1742 - anti-Q had Iroquois to censure Minisink re Walking
Purchase. This marked end of Q. peace policy & Ind rem West
to where Scot-Ir set. 1754 — Fr persuaded aggrieved
Ind to go on warpath., Braddock's defeat at Fort Du-
quesne. Scot-Ir K, scalped & burned. 1756 — Pa declared
war, offered bounty on Ind scalps. Caught in dilemma, Q.
resigned leg. Till now Q lived in the World — no more — too
many compromises necessary; & $ for defence? Did Q coddle
Ind? Q did not suffer during war; why?
1765 frontier vigilantes "Paxton boys" decided to teach Ind & Q a
lesson & K. Conestoga Ind in Lancaster Co. & went on
to Phila where Q had Moravian Ind for safety. 200 Paxtons camped in
Germantown, & Phila, incl. some Q. took up arms. Benj Franklin
met Paxtons & mollified them.

CH. 5 THE MIDDLE YEARS OF AM Q — 1775 – 1875.

1773 – 2 Phila Q firms turned back a shipment of Br tea —
did not dump or burn it but sent it back to London, paying
the ship capt to do so. Mtgs' duty to maintain a policy
of strict Q neutrality in fighting & to refuse to

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PACIFISM Tory Co-op with Cont'l Congress. Refused militia & war tax. Viewed as Tories. Most Q in New Eng, S, & country sided w/colonists; Br sentiment held in Phila & NY. 6 Q disowned for join Br forces; 4-500 Q disowned from MM for participating in Am cause, mostly for paying war taxes to Am patriots, or fines for refusal to collect mil. taxes. To leave Soc was Thos. Mifflin, later to become Rev Gen'l & gov of Pa; Betsy Ross, designer of Am flag; Nathaniel Greene, Rev Gen'l, orig. a R.I. Quaker. Am. retook Phila after Br occupation, & anti-Q sentiment very strong. Q houses stoned, oath of alleg. demanded of all school teachers – so lost jobs. Nantucket Is – Q stronghold – suspected of being Tory nearly starved as Br capt whalers & Ms. cut off provisions by shoot game & seafowl – stayed alive. N.J. & S. Q lost prop– homes, barns, livestock – for refusal to pay taxes, & jailed. In Va 14 Q drafted into militia punished for refusing rifles.

But 1775-76 Pa Q gave large sum for Boston siege relief. & aided Salem (100 yrs earlier had whip Q in sts). Moses Brown of R.I. rode horseback in winter to give relief in Ms towns. NY meetinghouse turned into hospital, as others, & Q. nursed wounded.

1789 Q reconciliation by congrat. Wash. on election as Pres. GW said "the people called Q... are... exemplary & useful citizens ... the conscientious scruples of all men should be treated w/great delicacy & tenderness..."

Rev X – Phila had 30,000 Q. living in & around it. Rev War had profound effect upon Q – more withdrawn, more devoted to task of purifying themselves as a peculiar people – more separate – educ more guarded – more simplicity – no slaves

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SLAVERY S Q found freeing slaves a hardship as econ shaken.
as persuaded by tr ministers, esp. SARAH HARRISON.
1787 NW Terr opened - godsend to Q as slavery forever
OH, IND excluded here. Great immigr, esp from N.C. S. whole Congreg
MICHIGAN 1820 - ~~[illegible]~~ 20,600 Q W. of Alleghenies; + on rough
ILL, WISC, MINN frontier some succumbed to drink, fight, adultery,
bad language, marry out, fiddle dancing + were disowned
Discipline strongly enforced + yet curiously ineffective.
In early days, anyone could belong to Children of Light who
had a direct rel. exp. - no formal rules - by 1730's - Soc
made list of member's children - inadvertently creating
"birthright" membership - in effect from that day to this -
unnecessary to apply or be examined + thus may be
a deadweight. Books of Discipline created by YM.
Kept by Clerk in MS form - printed at end of 18th c.
"Advices" - under which ministers + elders performed duties
"Queries" - questions MM asked themselves on reg. basis:-
orig. info gathering, later form of self-exam to be
"learned by heart" - as formally detailed such as "Do
you manifest a forgiving spirit + a care for the
reputation of others?"
18th c evolution of Society
1. Ministers never appointed by Soc, but were recognized by
their gifts, + later recorded.
Cornell [Mary] Lockwood (2. Elders - judicious + wise Q not necessarily gifted in ministry
but whose job it was to watch over spiritual life of the MM,
+ nurture dev of young ministers, + to see messages doct.
sound, Bib. correct, + Q in custom. Sat on facing bench
(1st row of seats in gallery) + kept a close watch on nodders,
lengthy speeches. Offenders may be "eldered" - for compulsive

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speakers, or out of turn w/ gen'l sense of the meeting. Elder rises + says, "Friend, I believe we have rec'd the weight of thy message" – if speech is over long. or nudge him to sit down.

Overseers – chosen to care for members in conduct i.e pastoral duties – not always negative.

When growing + strong – Soc ministry is strongest
" stagnate, overseers + elders in control – + became stiff, separated stronger after Rev War rigidity + became peculiar people. of stark simplicity, not celebr. Xmas. Meet 2X wk – First Day, + Fifth Day.

But Q had warm homes – QM, YM, visiting, good fun + food.

Growing dist between rural vs city Q. – Infl. by ch. left behind – Pur, Bapt, Episc, Meth. (brush aside)

1725 after "Quietism" influ – mystic – man w/o God incapable of goodness. Meet became more silent, to get direct leading of Spirit – too much Creaturely activity – educ vain – no rel. educ, no Bib reading – young Q. foggy.

EVANGELICAL — Meth influ – direct rel exp, accept Christ as savior, + atonement, bible final authority + stressed educ + Bible study + confronting alcohol, prison abuse + slavery. Appealed strongly to more progressive city Q – but not Quietists

1806 Phila YM – revised discipline – disown all who denied divinity of Christ, rev. of Spirit, or authenticity of Scriptures.

Elias Hicks (b. 1748) – Q. Quietist – f. of 11 ch – L.I. farmer of Jericho – believed Inner Light should be sole authority, pr. at L.I. meetings. Walt Whitman, 10, heard Hicks + Evangel. Q thought he was not doct sound, esp. on Crucifixion + was disputed by Thos. Shillitoe of Phila YM

1870's CONSERVATIVE Q — IA, IND, KS. — maintain silent meet, last to give up plain speech + dress

Friends United Meeting — largest Q body in U.S. + embraces many variations of belief + practice

EVANGELICAL FRIENDS ALLIANCE — 4 YMs — OH, KS, ORE + ROCKY MTN. Some use sacraments of bapt + communmion, + most take fundamentalist view of Bible

Many Q came to E.H. defence who did not actually agree
w/ his doct, for his freedom of speech was challenged.
Which controls?:- ind liberty of conscience? or the MM?
1827 Schism, amid great anguish on both sides.
Public lawsuits over prop. Families ÷. Phila MM
mostly Hicksite ? 18,500 H to 7350 Ortho, - most
rural H, Phila mostly Ortho. H. est. Swarthmore Coll.
Apr-1828. NY YM - majority H.. Baltimore - 4/5 H. Oh. ÷
exactly in 2, both trying to seat rival clerks.
& several persons injured in melee, delighting their
enemies. & Q appalled. Bitterness.
1837 Gurney-Wilbur conflict - more separation - dev. pastoral system
Gurney - too Meth & evangel. Beginning of paid ministry
after Civil War
1955 HICKSITES & ORTHODOX reconciled & reunited.

CH. 6 ABOLITION OF SLAVERY
1688 Germantown (Pa) MM - world's first declaration against
slavery; altho long after some Q owned sl & even
imported them.
1784 - Q agreed to free their slaves - first rel
body to do so, & espoused it as st/natl policy
1700 Q-dom Pa Assbly law prohibit import of any more Negroes
+ Br rejected law. 1701 Assbly tried to levy £20 duty on
imported slave but Queen annulled it.
Giving up slaves was like giving up real estate. Benj. Lay, an
eccentric dwarf, roused Q with his fiery speeches.
Jno Woolman - b 1720, Rancocas N.J. oldest of 13 children, educ
in Q school. Tailor & had own shop which he limited; m.
age 29. Refused to participate in slave sales, & write

jb

BACON: QUIET REB

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JOHN WOOLMAN

wills w/ sl inheritance involved

1746 J.W, now minister, tr S. on rel. mission Md & Va.

1747 JW to N Eng. as slave importation big in R.I.

1760 JW to N Eng again to persuade Q to outlaw Sl trade in Eng.

1757 JW to S. again w/ bag of silver coins, to pay Negro servants for room + board.

1755 – opposed war taxes. 1758 ordered to quarter 2 soldiers at his Mount Holly home, + did but would not accept money. 1763 – visit Ind after Fr–Ind War – Chief Papunehanung. Thought war, slavery + all soc evil lay in greed & ownership of excessive prop. Wore undyed clothes; went to Eng steerage class, &

mpassion in nimals

1772 walked in Eng as stage boys + horses both abused in interest of speed. In Sept while in York Eng got smallpox & d in 8 da. & bur. in Eng.

1775 Apr 14 – just 4 days before Revere's famous ride, Phila citizens incl Q met at Sun Tavern to form world's first abolition soc.

1833 Phila f Am Anti-Slavery Soc presided over by Wm L. Garrison + at his side protege, N Eng poet John G. Whittier. In gallery sat Q. Lucretia Mott (of Nantucket

UCRETIA MOTT

Coffins). Age 12, leading f. student at Nine-Partners Boarding School near Poughkeepsie; age 15, named ass't teacher; m. Jas Mott 1811. – Phila = a merchant.

1821. age 28, recog officially as minister. She, teacher. In sympathy w/ Elias Hicks who often visited Nine-Partners school – & was a staunch enemy of slavery & could not be quieted by its elders. so became Hick. 1827-28. Jas. would not sell cotton, only wool & that cut into profits. Their children only sweets was artificially sweetened candy. Lucreta leader in anti-sl movement

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Attended Phila YM till death.

b. 1807 John Greenleaf Whittier - birthright Q, of Ms. Abolitionist & editor
1837 "went w/ the new Soc?" split w/ Garrison & Motts. Did not want to mix women's rights w/ anti-slavery issue. Aided Undergd RR in Phila, NY. Civil War - urged Q to be nurses to wounded. "Snowbound" made him financially comfortable; some rel poems became hymns D. 1892 age 85

Undergd RR Abolitionists

Q never officially sponsored U. RR. Levi Coffin orig of N.C. of Cincinnati prominent in. - helped 100 slaves each yr for 20 yrs. Some Q did not, as illegal & wished to be aboveboard, & have reputation for strict honesty. Those illegal looked to higher Morality. Isaac Hopper Phila Q involved in U RR; also Thos. Garrett of Dela helped 2700 slaves to freedom. but lost all he owned in a civil case. Levi Coffin orig of N.C. moved to Wayne Co, Ind 1826 where 3 U RR met

Civil War

Abraham Lincoln claimed Q. ancestry; he wrote Eliza Gurney, widow of Jos. John Gurney: promise to do for CO's what he could. 200-300 Q in Union army, most from Ind. Sec'y of War Edwin Stanton was son of a Q; both he & Lincoln lenient toward Q CO's. & their enemies described them as belonging to "The Quaker War Cabinet."

1863 Draft Act - several Q imprisoned for refusal to serve. Cong. passed 2nd draft act, exempting CO's providing they did medical work, help w/ freedmen, or pd $300 into a fund to be used ~~by~~ for freedmen. Some Q. accepted this. The S. was more harsh. - tortured, jailed, & took food supplies. At end of war - Q worked among ex-slaves. w/ clothing, schools, orphanages

1879 70,000 Negroes to Ks. Q helped w/ clothing, barracks & schools.

S. Truth

BACON: QUIET REB

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CH. 7 PIONEERS in SOC. CHANGE

ature "concern"

Q. "concern" – to have such compassion, to feel so keenly the plight of others, to care so much that one's duty is to take action. And true concern is divinely inspired; thus. Mary Fisher went to Sultan; Woolman to S. slaveholders, Q. to Lincoln to liberate slaves & stop war. Proof of "concern" is when MM agrees w/ him i.e. group concern. "Concern" may orig. in silent meeting, disturb peace of mind. Become "practical mystics".

INDIANS:

1796 3 Q taught Oneidas in N.Y. res. smithing, husbandry etc. Penobscots of Maine w/ agric. Work among Brotherton, Onondaga & the Stockbridge

1804 Q mission near Fort Wayne, Ind; School for Shawnee in Oh. Ind. called them "Broadbrims"

1837-69 Ks. Q mission & school. Shawnee

Pres Grant appt Q to be Ind agents in Territories of West. Orthodox Q – to Ks; Hicksites to Nebr.

1850 Bding schs for Cherokee in N.C.

1929 Hoover, Q, appt 2 Phila Q & Ind Commissioners; for first time conscious effort made to help Ind take pride in Their heritage.

PRISONS:

Wm Penn himself in Tower of London includ penal reforms in his Govt – the 200 capital offenses reduced to 2 – murder & treason. His prisons were work houses, useful & regarded as model. Illogical to be thrown in jail for debt – else how can it be paid? Q refused to pay jailers fees for spec privileges. Many d. in jail. 1787 – B Franklin, Dr B. Rush & some Q f. assoc to alleviate suffering in Phila jails. Q. favored meditation & moral instructions of prisoners instead of beatings, hoping criminal

BACON: QUIET REB

womed reform. In NY prison reform led by Q. Thos Eddy a planner of Erie Canal; Isaac Hopper of U RR criticized pol of mix juveniles w adult prisoners. & often sought pardons from Gov. his daughter f. first halfway house for F. prisoners in the world. Q always against capital punishment.

INSANE –

pop. belief insane were demon possessed. & to be punished & made sport of. 1669 Fox advised humane treatment for. Cure (very extreme measures) advocated not punishment. 1813 – Asylum in Phila – 1st private mental hosp in U.S., f. by Q. Thos. Scattergood. – operated on principles of "occupation" & nonrestraint. & Bloomingdale Hosp f. by Thos Eddy in NY.

POVERTY & EQUAL RIGHTS

First, took care of Q. poor "sufferings." Compassion for other poor – Ind, slaves, immigrants, settlement houses. In Chic – Jane Addams, d/o Hicksite, f. Hall House. Q. took up cause in Temperance Movement. Involved in F. educ, womens rights – suffragettes as Lucretia Mott

CH 8 Q. contribution to CULTURAL LIFE

Moses Brown School PORTSMOUTH, R.I. est 1784, later transferred to Prov. in 1819 was first Q academy. 2nd was Nine-partners 1796, now Oakwood School in Poughkeepsie. At first were boarding schools to train teachers for Q. elementary schools – educ for M & F. Bryn Mawr, John Hopkins U. & Cornell f. by ind. Q (not YM). In early days, small Q. schools in rural areas – also wel

comed non-Q. Wanted no outside contamination - was this wise? This guarded educ came sense of distrust & separation from outsiders - narrow world. But this
GHBS "sense of difference" helped Q to stand against public opinion - in opposing war, slavery etc. Also prod strong well integrated, w few inner conflicts, lived serene & useful.

NOTE: Even today there is a serenity about Q born & bred Q.
But Q also promote pub school.

Q SCIENTISTS

Wm Penn elected to Royal Soc. of London - for sci experiment
Jas Logan of Phila - researched pollination of Ind corn
John Bartram - Am's 1st botanist - produced hybrids & after being one of 5 Q among 9 founded Am Phil Soc formed by Benj Franklin, disowned by MM for being a Deist.
Thos Gilpin, zoologist. Wm Bartram - 1st Am ornithol.
Edw Drinker Cope - paleontologist; Wm J Beal plant 1st genetics; Moses Brown (f. Brown U, R.I.) exp. w astronomy, & promoted smallpox inoculation

ARTS:

Walt Whitman's mother a Q; Emerson & Thoreau infl by Q ideas
Thos Paine & Benj Franklin had strong Q influ in their lives, w B.Fr. passing as a Q when it suited.
Jas Fenimore Cooper grew in Q fam.
1755 Benj. West may have been born a Q. - portrait painter - "Penn's Treaty w/the Ind".
b 1780 Edw Hicks, raised by Bucks Co Q - Eliz. & David Twining; joined Q 1803 & became minister "The Peaceable Kingdom" painting
Q objected to portrait painting - allowed scissored silhouettes
Q prohibition against music - dancing to fiddle, owning instrument, or for joining in song. Since 1880 have

music + organ in Ch. worship. Today most Q children learn
to play musical instrument. Contributed little to arts.
GREAT IDEAS:
Contrib. much here. Concepts: nonviolence, CO; rel. & civil
liberty, equality, pure democracy, affirmation
Every man's opinion is important.
Some sections of Wm Penn's Frame of Govt used in writing
of Bill of Rights. C.O – imp. contrib to rel liberty.
Am Civil Liberties Union (since WW I) has Q. support!!
Q coop w Count Leo Tolstoy in arranging for Doukhobors
(Xtn group in Russ) to find sanctuary in Canada & Q
aided Kalmuk Buddhists a persecuted minority for
900 yrs to set U.S. Q helped Jap in Am WW II camps.
Modern Q. do not vote. Q. taught from childhood
to express feelings openly & to avoid dominant,
aggressive behavior, based on commonly shared
belief in a unifying presence which each meets
in the silence of the period of worship. Have success
in Q. bus. meet in efforts to reconcile opposed groups
techniques could be applied in labor, & race relations, & in
internatl diplomacy. Attitude of openness toward other
points of view, avoid polarization, search for unity be-
neath diversity – all contrib to Q reputation as World peacemakers.
In evangelical movement, missionary spirit revived
Q char. today – simple direct style of dress, a habit of understatement, & di-
rectness of approach. Q "look" – resemblance resulting from common
ancestors – difficult to describe – generally related – closeness & affection
nonconformists to World, bring conflict into open (or pretend it
doesn't exist); refusal to face own anger, or turn it inward; trained to adapt
easily into group behavior; enjoy going to a lot of meetings + committees

TTRIBUTES TODAY

Character today:

BACON: QUIET REB.

+ live in simplicity (certain lifestyle) in order to pursue Q concerns — free to devote time to spiritual rather than material growth. Small effort to recruit new members. Early Q evangelical, but by 1740 less concerned about conversion + rel enthusiasm. Necessary to embrace some unpopular beliefs, hence not a mass religion

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BRENTON:
FRIENDS FOR
300 YRS.
①

NICKALLS:
JOURNAL OF
GEO. FOX
②

CARR, et al.
COLONIAL
CHESAPEAKE
SOCIETY
④

QUAKER
VOL. I

NOTED
JL-00

OK.

I. NOTES

70
SHEETS

10½ x 8 in/26.7 x 20.3 cm
1 SUBJECT NOTEBOOK
WIDE RULE

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DPL

Frch.
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Frch.
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Info on COLE - a QK - throughout

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#1

c1

Ch. I.

1652-56 New rel movement began during Cromwell's Civ Rev. Seekers, Jewish Friends, Children of the Light - became Q. orig. NW Eng. From this silence - waiting upon the Lord - an outburst of spiritual power. Their doct "the Truth" - not so much a new doct as a new ~~light~~ life.

Isa 40:31

Ps 40:1, 2; Ps 27:14 Group mysticism: montanism as in mystic & prophet, vs. priest/theologian w rel expressed thru doct, & symbol (tradition). organized & mechanized.

diff [Medieval Xtn mystics contemplatives approach to God "the flight of the alone to the Alone". Not so Q.]

"Ranters" - 17th c. rel radicalism, antinomianism, anarchism. Puritanism subtracted this & that, Q added something new - that of God in every man - escaped anarchism by the group becoming the Body of Christ which is closer to Cath than Prot.

Ch. 2: Empty forms are ritual, creed, hymn, sacred books & sermons - a rel based on the experience of others, i.e. second hand. Prot rejected auth of Ch but set up auth. of Bible as source of rel ~~truth~~. Early Q not Trinitarians. Such Exp. of Light not intell, theo concept, but a living exp. Fox had more of a phil. than a theology but that phil. arr at by feeling & intuition rather than by systematic thinking. Friends never used "spark" for Inward Light

Brinton: 300 Yrs.

as some other mystics do. In Fox's Epistles, he has many names for the Light. THE WITNESS OF GOD. ROYAL SEED. THE TRUTH'S VOICE. THAT OF GOD IN EVERY ONE (OR, IN ALL CONSCIENCES).

CH. 3. The Light first appeared to Q. in terms of feeling & experience. Necessary to rationalize it — & done so by R Barclay & W Penn — both trained in Theo in Fr. Barclay into systematic theo, Penn in pol thought & govt. Both aware of imp. of consistent system of ideas:—

Bible

On Scriptures —

Pur. — Bib. primary & Spirit secondary as an aid to understanding, i.e. Bib is THE Word of God.

Q — Spirit primary, & Bib. a word of God, i.e. secondary, confirming & clarifying the rev. of the Light Within. Spirit rev. progressive — O.T. acc. to man's ~~measure~~ discernment to receive then. No Xtn accepts all of it — [10 Com vs the other 610] If Spirit is source of Bib Truth, is He not source of Truth today? Sam'l Fisher argued all versions of Bible were corrupt & uncertain — bold to say in 17th c. Pur. viewed doct. of primacy of Spirit over Scriptures as anarchy, heresy. i.e. A. Hutchinson True, dangers of pure individualism & subjectivism did abound: Need for checks — as in Bible, other revelations & writers accepted as sincere lovers of the Truth!!!

Brinton: 300 yrs

On Conscience:

Light Within is not conscience which is fallible; it ~~seeks~~ serves to illumine conscience. Spiritual growth often described by Q. as becoming more "tender".

On Reason:

On Universality of The Light: Q. theo is Johannine theo

This belief aroused much opposition — esp by ~~those~~ Calv who believed only elect would be saved.

Tit 2:11 . . God appeared . . to all

Isa 49:6 . . unto the end of the earth

Col 1:23 . . . preached to every creature under heaven

Barclay on Acts 4:12 no other name . . . by which we must be saved — "There is no other name, but salvation lieth not in the literal but the experimental knowledge. Ours attributed Adam's sin to every man, even those having never ever heard of Adam, but fail to attribute Christ's saving grace to every one, tho never hearing of Christ. Q. found some Ind more Xtn-like toward them than the so-called Xtns.

Jn 1:9 is the Q. text.

On the Eternal Inward ~~light~~ Christ & The Historic Jesus:—

The Light Within is the Christ Within

And the ATONEMENT:—

Q did not apply to the sacrifice of Christ the O.T. Concept of a blood sacrifice offered to appease an angry God; considered blood of Christ as the Light Within

Brinton; 300 Yrs
Cath, Prot + Quakerism — 3 br. of Xty.

in its redeeming + sanctifying capacity. We are regenerated, not so much by the death of Christ, as by His life in our hearts.

On Man's Responsibility for GOOD and EVIL:
2 imp. Q doct more Cath than Prot (Pur Calv)
(1. Righteousness not imputed to man by God unless man actually righteous. Prot believed because of Christ's sacrifice, God could impute Christ's righteousness to man even tho he cont to sin
(2. Q believed perfection + freedom from sin was possible, while Prot believed that all sinned in thought, word + deed.

a luminous store of righteousness i.e. unite w/ Church
Cath bel. in Organic interrelatedness [Q. group mysticism: unite w/ Eternal Christ]
imputed goodness
+ Prot. bel in individualism - no store - only imputation thru supernat'l transaction.

PERFECTIONISM.
Not a static state of self-satisfaction. Requires growth.
Living up to the Measure of Light given.
We are organically united to an EVIL society, but also organically united to ETERNAL GOODNESS.
"Perfection" may be lost as well as gained.

THE FALL OF MAN
Total depravity vs. divine Seed in nature, but can fall from life in the Spirit to dependence on law + reason (human) to condition of sensuality (subhuman animal life)

Brinton: 500 yrs.

early & empirical Theo.

Q theo - man in twilight zone of reason between
2 worlds {1. upper, of Light - superhuman & spiritual
2. lower, of Darkness - subhuman & material.
W/ instinct animal body, rational mind, & within divine Light
The Light of Truth should be a guide to reason, & reason should help instinct in a properly ordered life
RELATION BETWEEN DIVINE/HUMAN
Religion to be felt, rather than understood.
But by 20th c. most Q writers critical of Barclay's Apology - too dualistic i.e light is divine, mind is natural as influenced by Calv. on Barclay brought up in atmosphere of Scotch Presby.
Passive waiting for divine guidance vs. actively seeking it. Apology written mainly to refute Calvinism & particularly Westminster Conf. of Faith (Presby).
Opposed doct of election - as it attributes ~~sin~~ to God.

ty
s in
Paul
John

Heb. religion = saved by doing; obedience to divine will; seek change of will; action; Kingdom of God to come; Messiah w/new soc. order
Gr. philosophy = saved by being; attainment of right knowledge ("Truth shall make you free"; seek change of nature. contemplation & withdrawal from this world; Kingdom of God within; Son of God

rot:
uther;
Calvin

Heb rel - inspiration is occasional & to be waited for; evil is real & results from acts of persons opposed to God, this-worldly

ath
quinas

Gr phil - inspiration is continuous & to be searched for; evil less real than goodness & results from sensuous desire; other worldly.

Brinton: 300 yrs.

Q. combines both w/o attempt to work out a consistent system. Silent contemplation more Gr than Heb. Ministry (prophesying) more Heb than Gr i.e. action

Today Q } Q. today more known for doing things than for being. Logical inconsistency tends toward growth, dev., new revelations of truth. No fixed creed is ∴ possible; the indispensable factor is a sincere search for truth.

Ch. 4 WORSHIP

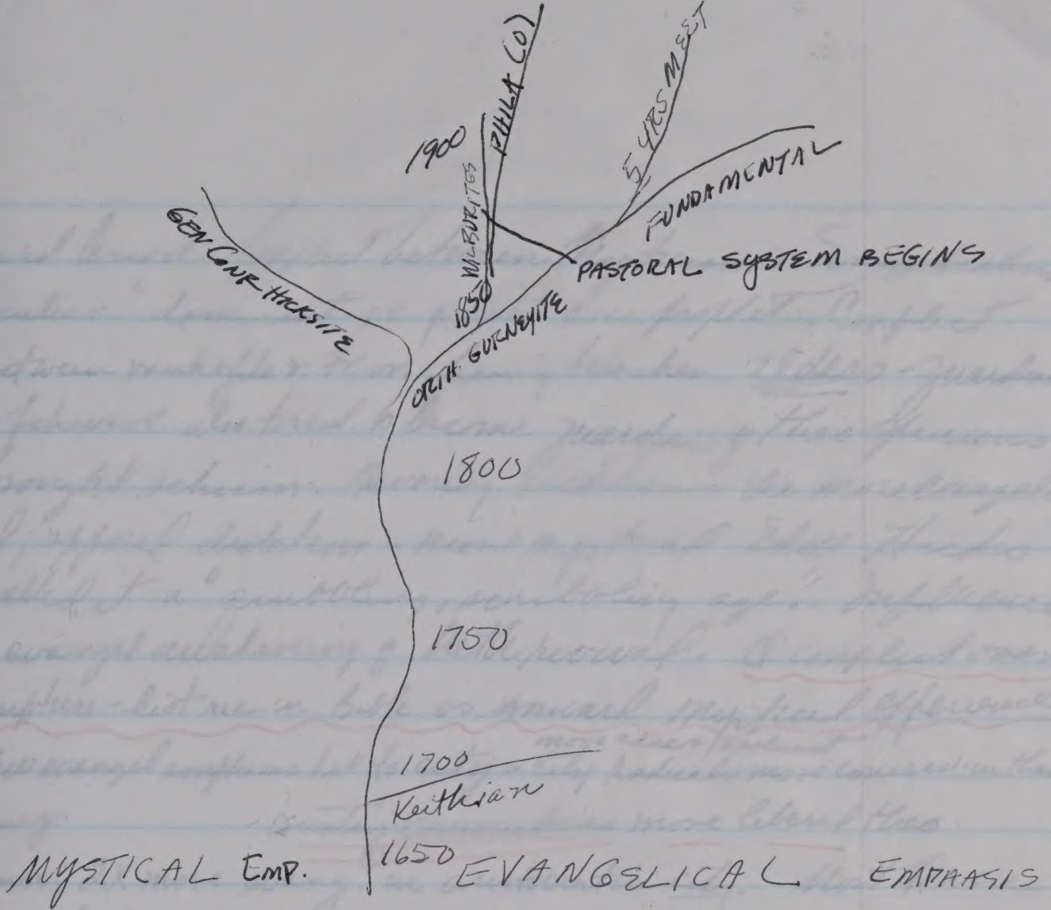
Like teaching of science: methods
lecture-demo } Cath worship centered in altar. Central altar + sacrament focus.
lecture } Prot " " sermon. Pulpit focus.
Lab } Q. " " " divine presence within. No visible focus

Xtn mysticism - emphasis on negative withdrawal - as hermit retired to cave.

Solitary worship outside Meet'gs - "a period of solemn retirement" [secret prayer]

Ch. 9. 1700-1890 Mysticism - inwardly directed } Feelings, meditation & silence
conflict 1800-1900 Evangelicalism - outwardly " } All 4 forms in Q Xtn hist - Bible & preaching
1900 { Rationalism - rel arr at thru thought } logic - phil & theo
Social activism - humanitarian service } practical

Early Q. Period [Q+ism - primitive Xty revived, evangel. Q. went to Pope, Am Ind, Islam. Fox tried to send letters to Kings of Sp, Fr, to Czar & the mythical Prester John. Traveling ministers not prone to give doct sermons. Fire & acute zeal.


PHILA (O)
5 YRS MEET
1900
WILBURITES
FUNDAMENTAL
GEN CONF HICKSITE
PASTORAL SYSTEM BEGINS
1850
ORTH. GURNEYITE
1800
1750
1700
Keithian
1650
MYSTICAL EMP.
EVANGELICAL EMPHASIS

4 PERIODS OF QUAKER HIST

1. ca. 1650 – 1700 Heroic or apostolic period
2. 1700 – 1800 Period of cultural creativeness & mystical creativeness
3. 1800 – 1900 Period of conflict & decline
4. 1900 — Period of modernism

Second Period: aka period of Quietism.
Leaders includ Jn. Woolman, David Ferris, Rebecca Jones,
Jn & Sam Fothergill, Catherine Phillips, Martha Routh, Wm Savery,
Job Scott, Jn Churchman, Thos Chalkley, A. Benezet.
Golden Age – 1700 to 1740. Q generally accepted by Xtns.
Less attention on doct – more, on right inward state
1794-96 Martha Routh tr. 11,000 mi in Am
1753-56 Catherine Phillips tr. 8,750 mi in Am on horseback

Traveling Q held widely scattered Soc together.

Third Period · Conflict between Mysticism & Evangelicalism
"Peculiar" dominant i.e. priest over prophet. Conflict between rank & file & Fr on facing benches. Elders - guardians of behavior also tried to become guardians of theo opinions. Brought schism. Favoring dictation – the more evangelical; opposed dictation - more mystical. Edw Hicks called it a "grumbling, scribbling age". Influence of evangel awakening of Meth revival. Q conflict over Scripture - hist rec. in Bible vs Inward mystical experience

New evangel emphasis 1st to city - city radicals more educ & affluent more conserv. in theo
confusing — country conservatives more liberal theo.
hence, 2X more evang. Q in aristocratic city. Most Q were rural tho.

Phila elders forbid Elias Hicks to preach - powerful preacher, a mystic, did not emphasize hist Jesus, Bible, Xn tradition, or anything outward — only Inward Light.

Conflict over Ch govt i.e. authority of the Elders
Hicksite (liberal) emphasized democracy, tolerance.
Orthodox - more authoritarian, control of ind by the group.

Great revival of evang. rel soon after Civil War - esp Mid West affecting all sects. Q. evangelists now preached the Gospel of Justification, Sanctification, Second Coming & Faith Healing.
Less silence - more program - thus lg. proportion of Soc of Fr removed from its foundations & came into the full stream of Protestantism

New evangelist — meeting focused on himself; counted conversions
Old Q preacher - sermons rose out of united life of meeting; never knew # conversions

Ev D.
Fedor

ferry (1670) herring
mackerel &
halibut
Essex. marshland villages, fishing ports
marshes, estuaries
slow
S - flat, wide streams, } still rural. Timber
N - rolling } framed thatched cottages
Soft yellow-gray limestone churches w/carved
gargoyles. Once, wealthy center for local wool
& cutlery trade. Curving roads. Saffron grown.
Historic inns. Roman road - 1st col AD 49.
Norman castle. High hedged lanes.
Land of Cardinal Wolsey [ ] & painter John
Constable [17th c]. Horse-crazy since Jas I
Cambridge U.

Nickalls, Jn L. ed. Journal of Geo Fox 1985
b. 1624
d. 1691, Jan 11 "sweetly fell asleep in the Lord", age 67
bur. Bunhill Fields - Q burying ground - 4000 in attendance

RANTERS in Eng ~~49~~, 79-81, 96, 113, 176, ~~181~~-3, ~~195~~-6, ~~212~~, ~~232~~
~~279~~, ~~359~~, ~~44~~, ~~443~~, ~~525-6~~, 622

1649 in gaol prison at Coventry for rel - where they rant, vapour + blaspheme. [Fox's 1st encounter with; he felt darkness.

1651 at Borrowby: spoke themselves dry. Did not sit + wait upon God. Used tobac + ale, + grew light + loose. Had visions, Fox ranks them w old Ranters in Sodom

1652 Saw priest [at Judge Fell's at Ulverston Swarthmoor], still a Ranter in his mind "+ had liberty to do anything" + full of filth

1654 Ranters came from York to wrangle - opposed me + fell a-swearing + great janglings [Fox did not like Bapt either] - rude people, sang, whistled + danced "but the Lords power so confounded them that many of them came to be convinced" [Q]

1655 at Charing Cross - Ranters called for drink + tobacco - peevish - but gave extreme compliments to one another. Believed God made the devil [Fox said no, God is a Body Truth]

1656 Fox meeting at Edge Hill - came R, Bapt + several sorts of rude

1668 Eng - R. a rude company much opposed our meet
Hampshire - Q. accused by people of the world as being Ranters; Fox gave forth a paper - to clear ourselves.

1672 New Eng - mentions rude Ranters there, just before going to Prov RI.

SEEKERS scarcely mentioned. Only a a Separated people.

Fox, Journal

Essex ~~213-18~~, ~~350+59~~, ~~361~~, ~~421~~, ~~436-7~~, ~~512~~, ~~558~~, ~~569~~, ~~669~~, ~~729~~, ~~747~~

1655 Jas Parnell Q in prison (gaol) at Colchester

Horsemen, hostler, grey clothes

"Tender, broken meeting amongst them in the Lord's power" another -- train set forks + pikes upon us -- 11th or 12th hr - Seventh-day night -

1658 - GF - I saw + felt a waft of death go forth against [Protector ? O. Cromwell] as he rode in the head of his life-guard at Hampton Court. Fox went on to Kingston, then London + heard Oliver Proctector was dead. Sept 3, 1658

1663 "the power of the Lord ris in me + I was moved of the Lord to tell her..." Fen Country

1667 - Lincolnshire "on the day called Christmas Day" -

Cheshire - I "cleared myself there in the Lord's service" -

1670 Essex, Hertfordshire etc - an ancient Puritan's criticism of GF marriage: ~~Fox~~ This his that marr. only for procreation of children, & Fox replied, "I told him I never thought of any such thing" -

1673 London + Essex - "Neither could we observe the heathens' + Papists' holy days... For we were redeemed out of days by Christ Jesus + brought into his day that hath sprung from on high"

Fox in Am. Ch. 24-

1672 From Jamaica (island) to Md. via ketch, narrowly escaping
Sp pirates. "Many of the world's people were there and
did receive the Truth w/ gladness & reverence. And
many or most of the backsliders came in .."
May – God guided him to New Eng. via land & canoe thru
bogs & creeks To N.J. & 40 mi to Oyster Bay & Flushing.
Q. at Gravesend. Men's & women's meetings "wherein the
affairs of the church were taken care of." Journed on.
Flush. reg. meet at Jn Bowne's (who was ban by Dutch auto Eng).
Many hundreds of the world were there & were much satisfied
& desired to hear again .. so loving. To Oyster Bay to wait
My 30 for wind to go to R.I. - for meet. c 200 mi via water thru fury
of wild beasts & men, woods, storms, bogs, famine & frosts.
To Gov N. Eastons house – 2 good meet & many justices
& gov & dep gov & capt there. They "did not think there
had been such a man in the world" [himself]. And
on Fifth-day went to men's meet in the island [RI Aquidneck] – no
[word preacher] priest on island – so no restriction as to way of wor-
ship. Most officers & justices w Gov & Dep Gov there & at
most meet & fr out of other jurisdictions, & "all mightily
affected w/ Truth." Business – to take care of poor & church
affairs. "When it was ended it was hard for
Fr. to part, for the glorious power of the Lord which
was over all & his blessed Truth & life flowing amongst
them had so knit & united them together .. went

Aquidneck

Fox Journal
in Am

away being mightily filled w/ the presence & power of the Lord"! Ly meets for several days — people came in sloops from other col. Fox attended marriage here. One never like it in New Eng. 3 JPs + many y world there. At a Friend's house (y ex-Gov W. Coddington) Then I had great travail re Ranters - rude. "the Lord gave me power over them. A JP convinced that day who had been justice 20 years.

Je. 30 at Providence - ly meet - all sorts & sects came. He hoped to preserve it quiet & even those who came to dispute were silent. A great barn full y people — hot, sweat at Prov.

1672 Jly 13 - 4 JP's & gov at meet at Narragansett. Ct. people came. In R Is. - 10 glorious meetings - all Fr. filled w love y God

In New Eng - Ind king said Q rel. the best. One Ind said before Eng came - prophesied that Ind should be loving to white people who would come.

July 26 - after 2 mos in R I. left in sloop to Fisher's Is - mosquitoes drove them away + on to Shelter Is. for meet among Ind Aug 1. - 100 Ind. sat 2 hrs. - appeared very loving. Fox arr for fortnightly meet among them w/ Fr. Jos. Nathaniel Silvester (prop y Shelter Is a refuge for persecuted Fr.) in charge to read Scriptures to negroes + Ind.

Fox in America

1672 Aug 6 – great meet on Shelter Is – many "taken w/the Truth."

[[Letter from Wm Edmundson to Margaret Fox – Jan 1673 – here speaks of Thos. Briggs in Antigua – Car Is – & at Barbados. w Q.]]

1672 Aug 7 – came to Oyster Bay in L. Is. Rough waters & fog. Strong tides Gale. Great pain. 200 mi from R.I.

N.Y. L. Is. Was this Cornell

Lg. meet at Oyster Bay, & Rye. To Flush to Christopher Holder's. Meet Aug 17 – many hundreds of the people of the world – came from 30 mi. includ JP & jus. "A glorious & heavenly meeting it was, praised be the Lord God, & the people much satisfied." Challenged at Flush re. ord of ministers, 2 women's speaking, 3 new way of worship. Fox charged priests not same as apostles – as same owned not cut off ears, hang & banish, imprison & ruin per prop as clergy in New Eng had done. Opposition said they must go into all nations & preach & give the Supper as they were of the tribe of Levi. Fox said Christ not of Levi but of Melchizedeck.

Onto Gravesend L.I. 20 mi. Aug 20 for "a very precious meeting" – for 3 meets. Passed Coney Is. & Staten Is. to Shrewsbury, E. Jersey Sept 1. Healed man w/ broken neck. "a great brokeness & tenderness"...

Nov 1 In Carolinas preached to Inds & showed them how God made all things in 6 days, made but 1 man & a woman, God did drown the old world because of their wickedness – so going to Christ & how

Journal
Fox in Am.

wS. in many bogs - wet - made fires to dry out. Freezing, starving in woods
he did die for all & for their sins, & did enlighten them;
& if they did do evil he would burn them, & if they
did well, they should never be burned

1673 Jan. In Va. "precious & glorious meeting in a tobacco-house. Aug, in a schoolhouse. In May – "The first day were the mens & womens meetings where we discoursed about the affairs of the Church of God". Left America in May. for Europe – [near Potomac R.]

Fox – General Topics

1. dress & personal appearance – 83, 92, 108-19, 157, 201-2, 238, 276, 306, 356, 377, 541, 545

2 Plain speech 2, 36, 92, 242, 244, 271, 286, 329, 406, 416, 484, 498-9

For Journal

for — Gen'l Topics

3. Premonitions - 140, 147, 237, 256, 355, 361, 375, 411, 487, 533, 542, 544, 616, 663, 670.

& Visions - 22, 66, 72, 100, 104, 106, 312, 361, 428, 487, 539, 542, 571, 573, 575, 578, 616, 658, 663, 669, 673-4, 700

Fox Journal p. 605 "tawny Indians"

Lengthy
Fox Teaching (index 774 ff]
Scriptures – I told 'priest' that Scrip were
Jn12:47 words of God but not Christ the Word
Lev 22; We do believe that the Scrip are the words
18,19 of God, for 'God spake all these words' Ex 20:1
Lu1:20 meaning 10 commandments, ... So that we
Jn5:47 call the Scrip, as Christ & apostles called them,
15:7
14:23 & as the holy men of God called them (viz)
1671 the words not word of God.

Perfection: "There is a perfection in Christ, above
1674 Adam & beyond falling; & that it was the work
of the ministers of Christ to present every man
perfect in Christ — -

te 6 Newtown (Bucks Co) Pa - lived Edw. Hicks, Q minister & painter who painted "Peaceable Kingdom".

l Dem-
Fr.

#3

Newman, Daisy. A Procession of Friends: Quakers in Am. 1972

FOREWORD

1. Speaker, breaking silence, not speaking to the Meeting; the gathered Meet. is speaking thru 1 member.
2. Something divine in every person. hence, he is sacred
3. No creed - God makes Himself known in every generation. All life is sacramental - ordinances irrelevant
4. Early Q persecuted - demanding for all freedom of worship & justice; pacifism; equality for all; truth, hence oaths unnecessary; plain.

Thc

5. Changes, after persecution - into baffling contradictions. 18th c fanatical about "plain". 19th c - drove members out for piano, marry out

Shift from orig Q emphasis on God's continuing revelation to a literal interpret of Bible

CH. 2. 1656 - Swallow arr Boston Jl w/ Mary Fisher & Ann Austin. Mary - Yorkshire servant girl Q, whipped at Cambridge Eng for her Q preaching to students & imprisoned 2 yrs at York Castle. Ann of London - old, mother of 5. Contemporary asked - "two poor Women arriving in your Harbour ... so shook ye ... as if a formidable Army had invaded your borders?" [Geo Bishop, 1702].

2 or 3 days after Swallow left Boston, Speedwell arr - w/ 8 Q from Eng via New Amsterdam = *emissary of Sathan - Quakers - with

Newman, Corey Jr.

Poysonous Doctrine — includ refusal of hat removal. Q. jailed 2 mos — sent back to Eng. Indians puzzled over Eng God in causing this great misfortune Xtnos X tr

1657 The tiny Woodhouse arr in RI w/ 11 more Q. "cursed sect of heretics" — beaten to black jelly. These preachers — weavers & women. No clergy needed — God dwelt in all; no sacraments — all of life was a sacrament. Prem. hat to pray — no "hat honor" to men. Called all men & women by full name — no title. Testimony of equality

CH 4. Geo Fox — cobbler's apprentice tending sheep. felt divinely called — hunger spiritual reality for truth. Age 20 realized his darkened condition, & sought help — was recommended to marriage, tobac, soldiery & singing. None grads from Oxford or Cambridge could help him nor could dissenters or dreamers.

1647 Age 23 — saw no one "could speak to his condition" but Christ Jesus "I heard a voice which said, 'There is one, even Christ Jesus, that can speak to thy condition'; & when I heard it my heart did leap for joy"! He preached w power convincing many. Margaret Fell's Swarthmoor Hall held them together 4 yrs later (i.e. 1652) — [1652 Fox rec'd call

Newman: Process of Tr

to "sound the day of the Lord" on Pendle Hill
in Lancashire] — Q carry message to Am
6 of 11 Q (4 women) on Woodhouse making 2nd voyage —
but not Mary Fisher for she was go via ship &
foot to Turk Sultan w/ message from God. who
gravely listened to her & ~~got~~ rec'd better treatment from
this notoriously cruel Turk than she had
from Bay Englishmen."
S. wind blew them to Woodhouse (Portsmouth) (ENG) Robt Fowler — Q pr & con-
vinced many. Woodhouse too small not R.I. for Atlantic
but Lord protected it like Noah's Ark. First,
to NY & Gov Stuyvesant & Mary Weatherhead & Dorothy
Waugh preached in sts of New Amster next day
2 Domines wrote to Amster Holl — shipmaster stood before
Gov S. with hat firm on head as if a goat — headed
e toward Hellgate & we suppose to R I "latrine
of all New Eng" ∴ left behind 2 strong MW + DW young
women — who quaked & went into frenzy &
cried loudly in middle of street that men should repent. Dutch not
knowing what was the matter ran to & fro —
crying "fire" etc. The Fiscal seized
them both by the head & led them to prison".
Gov S. sent sheriff & jailer & 12 soldiers w/
cart to Hempstead 20 miles away, & brought
in Hodgson tied to tail & dragged & beaten &
for preaching in orchard at Hempstead L I

Aug,
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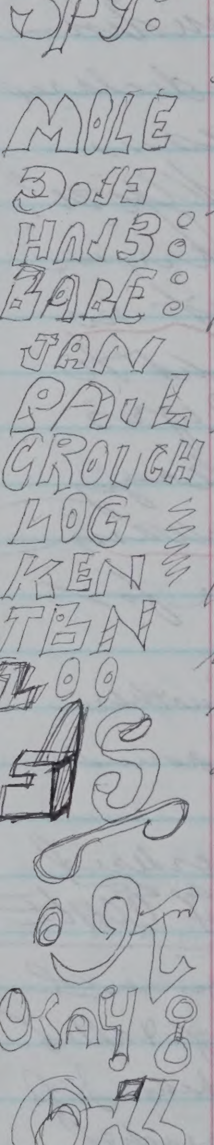
Newman's Procession of Fr.

Hung up by hands & fined 600 g. RH refused
Aug to pay. Meanwhile Woodhouse pushed thru dan-
1657 gerous Hellgate & on to R.I. & R Fowler declared
"The Scripture is fulfilled in our eyes..,
Hells gates cannot prevail against you";
Ch 5 21 yrs. before M Fisher & A. Austin arr in
Boston, Roger Williams banished - st no
right over consciences of men; but no right to
Ind lands. Fled to Narragansetts; 2 yrs
after, A Hutch banished - for censuring clergy
Followers bot Aquidneck for 5 fathoms of wam-
pum. Q pr God's love; but - hellfire for
all except the Divine Elect.
1657-8 Q persecution — 2 Q men lost right ears, another
lost his long (too long) hair; & sympathizers lost pounds
i.e. fines.
1658 [Jl. 16 - Col Records of Md. at Patuxent ordered
COLE Sheriff of Anne Arundel to take JOSIAH age 25 COALE
connection ?? & Thos. Thurston, Eng Quakers in Am via Virginia col
jailed for "seducing people" w newheresy & after
imprisonment Coale went to New Eng & Susquehanna Inds
& finally to R.I.; & at Martha's Vineyard preached
w/ grace to Algonquins, but jailed at Sandwich Mass
tho welcomed by Ind chief.
Q did not try to reform, but to redeem - thus,

Hymn:

#356 I know not
why God's wondrous grace to me
He hath made known ...
how this saving faith to me
He did impart ...
how the Spirit moved [my heart]
convincing me of sin
revealing Jesus thru the [blessed] Word,
creating faith in Him ...
if I'll walk the vale with Him,
or meet Him in the air ...

But I know whom I have believed
and am persuaded that He
is able to keep that
which I have committed
to Him ...


SPY:
MOLE
DOSE
HAJB:
BABE:
JAN
PAUL
GROUCH
LOG
KEN
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LOO
AS
OK
OKAY!
OK3

Newman's Procession of Fr.

7

spiritual revolutionaries - not by violence.
Ch 6. Hell's gates did prevail against Q. Great per-
secution. 3 Q includ Mary Dyer hanged
1659 on Boston Common, 2 men (1. Wm Robinson who
who wrote 404 - "the Word of the Lord came
expressly to me,, by which He constrained
me, & commanded me to pass to the Town
of Boston, to lay down my life, in His Will,
for the completing of His Service". (2. Mar-
maduke Stephenson's last statement - "... the
Word of the Lord came unto me, saying, Go
to Boston,... And at his Command I
was Obedient ... we came not in our own
Wills, but in the Will of God.." [M.S.
knew full well death penalty in Boston for
giving his testimony of Truth] Drummers
beat loudly so bystanders could not hear
Q. last words. Mary Dyer reprieved
executed later, among her last words - "In
obedience to the Will of the Lord God I came
& in His Will I abide faithful unto death".
One of the guard officers at her execution
was Edw Wanton who in quiet gave up his
ut commission & became a Convinced Q. -
wome ? 2 of his sons & 1 grandson all became Gov. of R.I.

1660 Josiah Coale again - from Eng made
2nd journey to Md & Va. w/ instructions
to buy land of Susquehannas. - Banished
from Md again

Newman: Procession of Fr

1 Q. Wenlock Christison ~~came~~ returned to Boston to warn authorities to shed no more blood. "Do not think to weary out the living God by taking away the lives of his servants." He was ~~sentenced to be hanged~~. Q. minus ears ret. to Eng to influence King Chas II to stop persecutions: Geo Bishop collected reports in his book New Eng Judged (1702) King Chas II? read it & was disturbed, for it was the Pur. who had beheaded his father Chas I.?

1661 Q (Geo Rope, R. Hodgson, R. Stage) to Flushing & Gravesend & to R.I. John Bowne lived at Flushing & Q worshipped in his house. Most persecuted by Cart/Whip Act by dragging thru winter snow were women.

CH. 7 Cheerfully accepted discipline - strength came from quiet waiting (not unity). Fr. confused w/ Ranters older sect by people which rejected all authority. Fox

1669 m. M Fell widow since 1658 - she in jail before. Fox 3 yrs in castle damp dungeon. Was Penn in Tower ca this time because he pub bk refuting doct of Trinity [or was it Penn's father?] Penn had studied law. Fox & 12 Fr left Eng in Industry for Barbados - so leaky, little fishes swam in & pass. manned pumps day & night. Observed slavery on sugar plantations. & was bothered

Fox

"Do not slight them ... The Ethiopians ... Christ died

Newman: Co Fr

Slavery for all... Turks, barbarians... the tawnies... blacks ... whites." Urged Fr to treat slaves as indent ser-vants + educ. them. On to Md. to Patuxent R to meet J. Burnyeat. To Oyster Bay on L.Is.

Fox

+ Newport R.I. - to Gov Nich. Easton. In Newport

1672 crowds came to hear Fox preach. Q shaking Eng + N. Eng. but Q being shaken also – Light Within interpreted differently. Saw need for external authority – not clergy; est men's + womens' MM. Back to Flushing L.Is. very large meet. To E. Jersey, Md + across Chesapeake Bay to Va + to Car. +

1673 over Eng 28 May, 1673 there arrested – in jail 14 mos.

Chas II reign bad for Q. – 15,000 jailed, 500 dying

1675? Penn + 11 Q bought E Jersey; grant from Chas II. King

1681 offered Penn soldiers as he feared the Ind savages cannibal pot but Penn refused, saying he was going to buy land from Ind. Why? King said you've already bought it from me.

CH. 8 The Holy Experiment.

1682 Penn + col in Welcome 30 Ag 1682. Blacks brought in as servants; Penn urged their emancip. in 14 yrs. Germantown f. by Ger-Dutch Q. Pa-Md boundary in dispute between Penn + Lord Baltimore – settled 50 yrs after Penn's death by Mason–Dixon line.

~~LL~~KK1

Newman: Pro Fp

Pa.

Bry
1684 or 6. Phila had 300 houses, pop 2500. Jas. II, Duke of York & Papist
suc Chas II – a friend of Penn who w/Barclay got 1460 Q
in Eng jail for not paying fines for not attending church
1686 released. Got Bucks Co (1½ day walk). 1688 Jas II fled
to Fr – Penn arrested because he was a friend of Jas II.
& he did not return to Pa.
1682 Q of good will by 1689 – 1st schism via Keith who
charged Pa Q w/denying divinity of Christ & demand a
creed, Q refused as Q a rel. of experience, ever open
to fresh revelation & cannot be contained in a creed;
K. formed separate "Xtn Q." Smashing of the "facing
benches" in each end of meet hs. Holy Exp. jolted.
1689 – Toleration Act in Eng made it legal for dissenters
to worship in public; 2. right to affirm (no oath).
1691 Jan 11 – Penn who was w/Fox reported Fox "died triumphantly
... 2,000 people at his burial."
1699 Penn ret to Pa for 2 yrs.
1698 Chalkley, Richardson, Thos Story to Nantucket.
Powerful surge of Q – flourished here 200 yrs.
By 1700 ½ of wh pop in R.I. was Q. Newport
Tri- center for mfg rum made of W Ind sugar & exported
trade to Af. in exchange for slaves sold in S. Colonies
1727 – Yr Meet censured Negro importation.
Slavery N.J. – Perth Amboy – Q. slave ships here.
Young John Woolman 1742 ordered by employer

Newman: Crozer

to write bill of sale of sl woman sold to Q. upset by this exp. First Phila Q protesting slavery were disowned. B Franklin before 1733 printed 2 anti-sl books written by Sandiford. Eccentric Benj Lay dramatized sl plight irritating Q by stand before Mtg barefoot in snow to demonstrate sl suffer in winter.

1711 Pa Assembly prohibit import sl - Br govt vetoed it.

1720 Phila Yr M org (Pa, NJ, Dela). Denied worldly past-times, Q. collect bks, became self-made scholars, into telescope, botany.

Penn's son Thos not interest in Q. or holy exp. he defrauded

1737 Ind by "Walking Purchase" - Bucks Co. - 30 mi walk extended to 60 ~~mi~~ trained runner miles cleared of under-brush & Ind. angry joined Fr against Pa in Fr-Ind War. Non-Q set on frontier demanded protection. Q. in Assbly refused to levy war taxes. Eng Q (fearful King would impose oath of office) urged Pa Q to resign & did 1756, leaving govt to War party.

1746 - J Woolman journey to S. & ret. to home Mt Holly.

1753 - " pub essay anti-sl.

from 1760 on, Q faced evil of sl & freed them, compensating for past services. D. smallpox 7 Oct 1772

Henry Harvey, Q mission worker in Ks ? Shawnees

Newman; Proc Jr

Peace testimony
Ch. 9. Loyalists & Patriots Testimony against War from 1655 Fox against carnal sword, as promoted by Oliver Cromwell, Brown, etc. War would support either warring faction - nor its taxes. Meetings for Sufferings org. to support Q jailed for conscience sake + to help support their families: Extended help to war victims - both sides.
Gen'l Nathanael Greene, commander of R.I. forces had been a Q but disowned for taking up arms & thru him & Moses Brown, Q allowed to help Ams. in Ms. Also disowned was Q. Betsy Ross. NYC Q. refused for payment of its use of Q. Meet hs as a depot to warehouse supplies.
1783 Moses Brown + 5 other Q presented petition to R.I. assembly to abolish slavery; R.I passed 1783 act to free sl. b. after Mar 1784. Q in N.J. Dela Md also pet. their legislatures. Slavery
1783 Nantucket Q w/ Loyalist sympathies moved to Can. Many Nantucket Q. moved to Hudson, N.Y. & N.C.
1793 Cot. gin invent. 4000 d. yellow fever in Phila.
1800 Q from N.C. moved to Ohio, + from there to Ind, Ia, Ks.

"disownment used for self-destructive uniformity"

Newman; Assoc. Jr

Ch 10. Orthodox & Hickites

Elias Hicks Jericho, L.I. From 1779 for 50 yrs traveled constantly - visit 1413 Q. meet - 26,000 mi. Against wealth/slaves: Looked to Bible for inspiration & to Light Within for authority: small boy Walt Whitman heard Brooklyn 1829 him preach, age 81, in L.I. 1 or 2 mos before he died - his gr-grandfather often w Elias H. on sleigh-rides. (WW parents not Q). In his last illness WW seriously debated if he had the spiritual feet of a Q & should become one [He could not live creatively inside Q narrowness].

Apr 1656 After 1756, Pa Q unwilling to support Fr-Ind War - concentrated on the inward - strict re plain

In-grown

1856 - Elders to Q homes to measure fringes.

Resort to Quietism - painful self examination hence tendency toward silence! Not totally self-absorbed Q sensitive to needs of others - slaves, Indians, humane prisons, hosp for insane, schools for freedmen. Provided guarded educ for own ch. - f. boarding schools, first in 1784 at Portsmouth R.I. (Moses Brown) closing 1788.

1796 sch Nine Partners, Millbrook NY, rem. to Poughkeepsie & renamed Oakwood Sch.

Q. Quietism a contrast to 19th c (contemporary) evang. revivals of Meth, Bapt, Presby. With Elias Hicks (more like evangel?), primary emp. on Bible for 1st X. which Barclay a century before called "only

Hicksites – the liberals

Newman: [illegible]

a declaration of the fountain, & not the fountain itself".
Ergo, H. Q demanded more conform w Xtn Ch, opposing old Q. reliance on exp. & Light Within. E.H. - no use for Bib soc sending Bib to Af. while illegal to teach 1½ million slaves in Am to read Bib. Ralph Waldo Emerson upset when at meet of Bib Soc in St. Augustine, Fla. witnessed inconsistency of Xtns tolerating slave auction just outside. Benj Ferris, Dela. Q. - thot it better to return civil/pol rights to Hindu rather than send missionaries to India which had just been conquered by Gr Br at cost of a Million lives.

19th c – Q caught between Unitarian liberalism & evangel. fervor; between rich city Elders & country Q. E.H. widely supported by NY yr meet, & by many Phila & Baltimore Q.

Conflict – Separation brought out the worst – ea claiming to be the legitimate Yr Meet & entitled to property – locked meet house & burial ground gates on one another, & went to Court! which ruled in favor of Orthodox & partition sep M/F now used to separate the 2 branches – O. or H.

Ch. 11. Dolley Madison 1st Lady had been a Q. Benj. Lundy,
1821 Q editor, 1 of the first to give public lectures against slavery.

ch 12 Wilburites & Gurneyites (next pgs).

Newman: [illegible]

2nd Gr Awakening caught up Q - in contact w Meth Bapt Presby on frontier

1845 N Eng Yr M - both W. & G. claimed to be official body; uncharitable.. Which owned property? G - #6500; W - #500 Ms court declared G. as the official one.

Gen'l Schism Q Separations came at same times as Unitarians split from Congreg, Bapt diversified, Presby into Old & New Light, Epis between High & Low Ch, Wesleyan Meth broke off from M.E. Ch. Some Q wearied of being peculiar (Thoreau 1843 said they looked like so many chickadees) & preferred toward conformity like other sects - a pd ministry ordered services, music

R.I. Wilburites stood before stone ruins (Perryville) site of justice's barn where Fox pr, & mourned the change. (1672)

1849 Rowland Macy (of Thos Macy of Nantucket) a whaler opened dry goods store in Calif. back to Ms - est. fixed price - to haggle as custom was not Truth.. 1858 - in NYC - fancy goods - Fr flowers, feathers & imp. headdresses (not Q). Success.

Ch 13 Civil War & Reconstruction

Lincoln symp w/ Q but ruled not exempt them from Civil War

Concern for Ind KKK drove out Q from S. 1867 - Hick Q offered serv to govt w/o pay in Indian work inc. Ks Shawnee Pot Kaw & Ind Terr. under Grant but severed w/ R. Hayes as govt agents but kept on as missionaries

Q. Ia [West Branch H. Hoover] by 1874 more into perfection & Holiness rel enthusiasm revivalism. Evang meet in W. Branch

Trueman: Fr
~~Gracy~~

Evang Q. to S. Calif., f. Whittier.

Q. colleges – Haverford & Swarthmore in Pa; Earlham in Ind; Wilmington, O; Wm Penn, Ia: Cornell & John Hopkins Q. endowed as non-sect; also Bryn Mawr. Academy in Whittier w Herbert Hoover orphan as pupil. Friends College here incl. Lou Henry – 1 of first pupils – who was to become w/o Hoover.

Q. Queries – not a set of rules but to examine conscience:

nclude 1. living silence
from 2. end differences
3. simplicity – not worldliness or self indulgence
4. wholesome recreations
5. free of judicial oaths, betting, gambling
6. " " drugs/alcohol
7. punctual in keeping promises
8. pay debts, truthful
9. live within income
10. create pol, econ, rel. & soc instit to further humanity
11. reverence personality in all
12. overcome econ, soc & educ. discrimination
13. friendly home

uth and actice. be enewed God one in silence!

1655 Jamaica capt by Sp. by Adm Sir Wm Penn (f. of Wm Penn (Father angered f. by becoming Q.) to become Eng plantation 1657.

1671 G Fox here; by 1700 thousands of Q. on island.

Wm Penn triumphed but made mistakes & had misfortunes:– Holy Exp. not holy; imprisoned for debt in Eng; sons wild; lost of his faculties in last illness.

Carr et al, Md.

Maryland

Carr, Morgan & Russo, ed. Colonial DPL
Chesapeake Society [Maryland]
975.518 C718

INTROD.
1 ~~sons~~ likely to inherit land, & daughters the slaves to work land, ensuring dau prospects for marriage & contrib. labor to plantation economy. ~~Both~~ Restricted in disposing bequeathed this prop.

2. Both Quakers & Cath. dissenters in Eng. – offered more freedom to F. Rel. diversity

3. Tobacco, not furs, – Md econ & Ind. never afres. Creole slaves. Tobac tr in hands of London merchants. Tobac culture esp in St. Mary's Co.

4. Va Powhatans willing to share 'Corne, women & Country." Eng convinced of Their superiority were dep. on hostiles for survival – maize – stole it

CH I. 1. Wm Claiborne (1600–1677) – kin to Bermuda gov; had London bus. ties. of Cambridge U. Va. surveyor 16[illegible], 1626 - Sec of St. 1630 exp. 8500 lbs. tobac when prices fell to a few pence per lb; he turned to furs – beaver pelts – tr at Kent Is. 1652–60 Dep. Gov. 1 of the oligarchy Laid claims to Kent Is.

CH 2. "the tobacco coast" tobac merchants sought indent servants – rogues

Md Carr et al

2/3 Md planters' houses = to poorest in Eng. Even elite res. only 4 or 5 rms. Meager possessions.. Most men d. 40-45. Most dishes pewter. House-
1658-99. hold items among wealthier includ: brass utensils, glassware, couches, table linen, curtains & valances, warming pans, desks, chamberpots, books, jewelry & clocks. The rich invested cash in plate & jewelry

1620-1745. Diet:
Meat, central to trad Br. diet: - swine, cattle, sheep. Deer Squirrel
Dairy products, cheese. Maize. apple cider. Beans
Salt fish. Turkey/geese. Wild duck & Sugar, honey. Nuts
Pickles, pumpkin. Cabbage, carrots, onions
Seafood in bay - oyster, crabs, bass, catfish, gar, sturgeon.
Md 1st Gov - L. Calvert - 25% of his meat was venison; rich ate less later.
Cooter turtles, coon
Sloops del. tobac to ships at R. landings as tobac culture best along R. banks.
St Mary's 1st set. farmed on previously cleared Ind lands, & b. "Manor house" w/many indent serv to grow corn/tobac, livestock, who looked to master for protect & legal services. Bound laborers. Jesuit mission on Potomac = St. Clement's Bay at Newtown. 1650's - Cath ch org. or 1661. & br chapel

Md Carr et al

In Md. Robt Cole 1628-1663 - midling planter arr. 1652 w/ wife, 4 ch + 2 serv. Traded livestock; res.
* St Clements Manor. 1673 Wm Coale of W Rv 100, Anne Arundel Co., will; an indentserv w/ bro, shos. A planter.
gravyd on Newtoun Neck, across St Clements Bay &
1653 supported by vol. tax. Jesuits open parachial school & pupils boarded. Md manars soon absolete. Lord of the manor. Manor/church connection ended 1660-70, as Prot. arriving, esp servants. Anti-Cath atmosphere. 1/2 landowners 1670-2 were R Cath & Prot resented these as no benefits derived in Cath ch/school, Falling tobac prices. St. Mary's Co had Cath minority. Wide availability of horses & black slaves. Much visiting - sing, dance, smoking & drinking includ. F. cards/dice gambling; passion for horse 1670 races on Sat. Gossip - delight in sex misdeeds; lewd conversation - brought all down to level of pol. lowerless - i.e comm denominator No org police - tongue controlled. Keep butchered hog/steer ears for 2W on demand, as hedge against stealing.

17th Religion Cath, Quaker

Md. immigrant soc., short life. F. shortage
* Wm Coale - a Quaker d. c. 1673
1634 Catholics arr on Ark & Dove w Jesuit priests B- chapels [Pearsall not in Cath Ch. parishioner member before 1674 at Newtoun]
Quaker

Carr et al

Quaker — Wm Coale

1650 emig w/ bro Thos to Md from Eng

Thos — servant to Wm Mitchell, evil character chg w atheism, blasphemy + abortion in 1652. Thos ran away; d 1659, free but not householder. Convinced Q. ca 1657.

Wm — prob serv. also. Ap court rec 1659, then hear of no more till will of 1678. a planter, 2 wives, + 5 ch. Became convinced Q. 1657 Rose to prominence in Md Q. + Q rec note him as imp. minister. Helped org. 1st Q at his home West River Hundred in Anne Arundel Co. 1659 he refused to swear oath to adm. Q. orphans estate; Court took away orphan est. to make an example. 1660's tr. Va as itinerant preacher + prisond; End of decade m. Elizabeth Thomas, d/o Philip Thomas a prominent Q. in Md govt

1672-3. Geo Fox sojourned at Coale's home for "large + precious Meeting". Q minutes tell of his "sincere love + good behavior".

Q. missionaries had spec. success in Md., arr 1655-6. Why? As dissenters Cat'n had dev. strategy in Eng for survival, Jesuits solid front. Prot in Md lacked this support until SPG formed 1702. No settled Ang priest till 1650. By 1677 only 4 Ang priests in Md. So set turned to Popery or Q, a fanaticism (Bresley)

Carr et al

Before 1689 most Md Prot disadvantaged unchurched. Q. fd eager congreg. in Kent Co + Calvert Co + Anne Arundel Co. AA set by 400-600 Puritans at invite of Calverts. Q. forced out of Va came to Md. 1679 – 14 Q. congreg in Md. in homes, barn – maybe 13% of Md. pop. in 1689; ? favoring antinomianism by subordinating the ind. to the group. Traveling Q. had to have "travellers certificates" – to preserve unity & from allowing disowned enthusiasts to influence abroad. Q. equivalent of mar. banns was to "clear" candidates by overseers.

Early gentlemen adventurers of Md virtually all Cath – had econ adv, manors, pol power. Within a few yrs Q showed econ prosperity but at low end – took care of their own. A threat to both Pur & Anglic.

In Md Baltimores rel toleration liberated both Cath & Q. – a sanctuary to both

Diversification.

Oronoco tobac only in Md; Va had sweet scented variety as well; sold to European mkt in return for Eur. mfgs. 1680's prices stagnated – had been a luxury item in 1620's & high priced. Increased prod. drove prices down. & farmers turned to crops & crafts. As women

Carr, et. al

beans, peas
pop increased so did crafts - spin, cheese, cider,
more children - demands for better diet/clothes.
1720's - tobac trade expanded w/ rising prices; demand for snuff.

ber
Wm
Thos.

Craftsmen: Tailors needed only min. investment in tools - shears, a tailor's goose, needles & pins. = a few shillings. In 1740s only 10% pop. owned shears
Make gowns, petticoat, coat, vest, breeches, great coat, waistcoat. - for adults & children
Cudjo - an Af. name, & Congo, Gambia, Angola, Quaw, Cudjee, Jubah, Bussee, Juba.

LAVES

Slaves sometime poisoned masters. Late 18th c white Bapt. recognized slave marriages. Negro conjurers - their art a powerful weapon so whites believed. Alleged poisonings may have been attempts to adm. roots, herbs & charms. Magic. Bishop Francis Asbury preached to 100's of blacks in Md. Until 1790's many Bapt & Meth preachers opposed slavery. Evang church discipline served to moderate master-slave relations - of burning, whipping, use of un-Xtn lang

#

Newman: Procession (con't).

Flushing, N.Y.
1657 Flush Remonstrance. Peter Stuy decreed – Luth denied rel free, Jews not to "infest Manhattan", & fines £50 for entertaining Q or allowing Q. Meet to be held in his house. 30 Fl. led by Town Clerk &
ornell Sheriff drew up Remonstrance – reminding Gov their charter entitled them to Lib of Conscience, acc. to custom of Holl w/o molestation or disturbance. Gov Stuy abolished town govt of Fl
1657 Woodhouse Q arr. New Am clergy complained that they cried loudly in sts. for men to repent, they
1658 raving Q disturb w/ wanderings & Outcries. Q forced to worship in woods. Jn Bowne b. house 1661 & invited Q to meet there. Banished to Holl & W. Ind Co sent him back to Flush w countermand – "the consciences of men ought ever to remain free & unshackled." Bowne House is still standing in
See atlas Flush; a designated Historic Landmark w/ "Here Was Born Religious Freedom..."
1672 Geo Fox held meet at J Bowne's in Flush – under oaks to accommodate the crowd
1683 Wm Penn came to Fl & advised his friend James Duke of York to give L.I. towns a rep. assembly.
1694 Q.G. Meet hs bdg to Jn Bowne.
1696 NY Yr Meet (in Flush) set off from N. Eng Yr Meet

Newman:

Lucretia Coffin (Mott)

1793 b. Nantucket, to Q sea capt
ed. 9 Part. Sch, near Poughkeepsie, - f. by Elias Hicks.
grad. + taught here. Girls pd same tuition as boys, but F. teachers pd ½ salary as men one of whom was Jas Mott. M. at 18 + 23. Gave up cot bus in NY. - gave it up on hear Hicks pr on living off slave labor; went into Phila wool. L. rec. as Fr. minister. More H. but even too liberal for them - almost disowned, esp. for radical abolition stand, which they feared would lead to war - worse than slavery.

The End

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THE BOWNE HOUSE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, INC.
37-01 Bowne Street

Tel (718) 359-0528 Fax (718) 359-0873

June 12, 2001

Ms. G. M. Dodd
4494 West 65th Street
Arvada, CO 80003

We received your postcard with the welcome news of your intention of visiting Bowne House and Flushing (Quaker) Meeting House during your forthcoming trip to New York City, July 19-21. The two historic sites are intimately associated and within easy walking distance of each other. Enclosed is an old version of the Flushing Freedom Trail pamphlet, which includes [now incomplete] information on both houses as well as a map of the trail.

The Meeting House is usually open to the public for worship and tours on Sundays, but if you call, I'm quite sure they would be willing to accommodate your schedule. The number is (718) 358-9636.

Please call us to discuss arrangements for touring Bowne House. If you are flying into La Guardia Airport, we and the Meeting House are located about 7 minutes from that facility. Public transportation to Flushing from Manhattan is provided by the No. 7 subway, recently named the "International Express" and America's first moving landmark.

I was very pleased to learn of your relationship to some of the old families of Flushing, whose descendants Bowne House is trying to locate. We are also interested in tracking down descendants of the signers of the *Flushing Remonstrance* – among which are the Thornes. Our purpose is to invite them to join the Society at this most exciting time in the history of Bowne House. We hope they will help us with family history and research, as we intend to include their families' contributions in our much-expanded interpretation of Bowne House. We look forward to speaking with you about this effort when we have the pleasure of welcoming you to our House. In the meantime, please accept a complimentary copy of our booklet on the *Remonstrance*.

Sincerely yours,

Evangeline T. Egglezos

Evangeline T. Egglezos
Executive Director

Enclosures: as stated

THE
FLUSHING, N.Y.
REMONSTRANCE

(The Origin of Religious Freedom in America)

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Text by HAYNES TRÉBOR
Member of the Research Committee of the Bowne House Historical Society

REMONSTRANCE

Of the Inhabitants of the
Town of Flushing
To Governor Stuyvesant
December 27, 1657

Right Honorable,

You have been pleased to send up unto us a certain prohibition or command that we should not receive or entertain any of those people called Quakers because they are supposed to be by some, seducers of the people. For our part we cannot condemn them in this case, neither can we stretch out our hands against them, to punish, banish or persecute them, for out of Christ God is a consuming fire, and it is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God.

We desire therefore in this case not to judge least we be judged, neither to condemn least we be condemned, but rather let every man stand and fall to his own Master. Wee are bounde by the Law to doe good unto all men, especially to those of the household of faith. And though for the present we seem to be unsensible of the law and the Law giver, yet when death and the Law assault us, if wee have our advocate to seeke, who shall plead for us in this case of conscience betwixt God and our own souls; the powers of this world can neither attack us, neither excuse us, for if God justifye who can condemn and if God condemn there is none can justifye.

And for those jealousies and suspicions which some have of them, that they are destructive unto Magistracy and Minstereye, that can not bee, for the magistrate hath the sword in his hand and the minister hath the sword in his hand, as witnesse those two great examples which all magistrates and ministers are to follow, Moses and Christ, whom God raised up maintained and defended against all the enemies both of flesh and spirit; and therefore that which is of God will stand, and that which is of man will come to nothing. And as the Lord hath taught Moses or the civil power to give an outward liberty in the state by the law written in his heart designed for the good of all, and can truly judge who is good, who is civil, who is true and who is false, and can pass definitive sentence of life or death against that man which rises up against the fundamental law of the States General; soe he hath made his ministers a savor of life unto life, and a savor of death unto death.

The law of love, peace and liberty in the states extending to Jews, Turks, and Egyptians, as they are considered the sonnes of Adam, which is the glory of the outward state of Holland, soe love, peace and liberty, extending to all in Christ Jesus, condemns hatred, war and bondage. And because our Saviour saith it is impossible but that offenses will come, but woe unto him by whom they cometh, our desire is not to offend one of his little ones, in whatsoever form, name or title hee appears in, whether Presbyterian, Independent, Baptist or Quaker, but shall be glad to see anything of God in any of them, desiring to doe unto all men as wee desire all men should doe unto us, which is the true law both of Church and State; for our Saviour saith this is the law and the prophets.

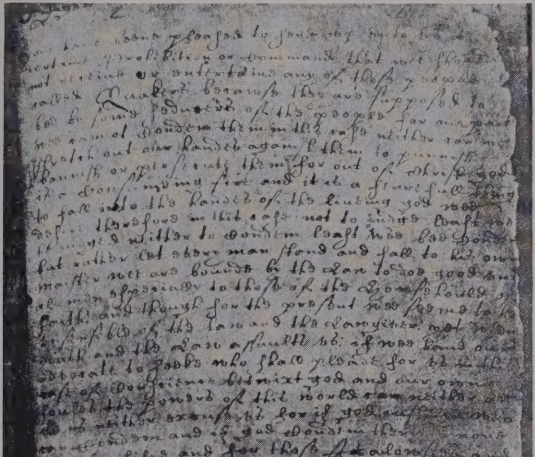
Therefore if any of these said persons come in love unto us, we cannot in conscience lay violent hands upon them, but give them free egresse and regresse unto our Town, and houses, as God shall persuade our consciences. And in this we are true subjects both of Church and State, for we are bounde by the law of God and man to doe good unto all men and evil to noe man. And this is according to the patent and charter of our Towne, given unto us in the name of the States General, which we are not willing to infringe, and violate, but shall houlde to our patent and shall remaine, your humble subjects, the inhabitants of Vlishing.

Written this 27th day of December, in the year 1657, by mee

EDWARD HART, *Clericus*

Tobias Feake
The Marke of
William Noble
William Thorne, seignior
The Marke of
William Thorne, junior
Edward Tarne
John Store
Nathaniel Hefferd
Benjamin Hubbard
The Marke of
William Pidgion
The Marke of
George Clere
Elias Doughtie
Antonie Feild
Richard Stocton
Edward Griffine

Nathaniell Tue
Nicolas Blackford
The Marke of
Micah Tue
The Marke of
Philipp Ud
Robert Field, senior
Robert Field, junior
Nick Colas Parsell
Michael Milner
Henry Townsend
George Wright
John Foard
Henry Semtell
Edward Hart
John Mastine
John Townesend
Edward Farrington



First page of the original manuscript of the Flushing Remonstrance, in the Manuscripts and History Section of the New York State Library in Albany.

The Flushing Remonstrance

THE Flushing Remonstrance was undoubtedly the first declaration of religious tolerance by any group of ordinary citizens in American history, motivated solely by the consciences of free men. It was unique in that, at a time when it was unpopular, and unlawful, to respect the rights and opinions of others in matters of religion, effective use was made of public opinion to check the arbitrary use of governmental power to suppress basic human freedom.

Nowhere in colonial America was there a more consistent and valiant effort made to establish true religious freedom than among the men "of divers views" who founded the Town of Flushing. The Remonstrance was one of several instances in which the people of the town fought for the right of every man to worship God in his own way.

The principle set forth in the Remonstrance, and emanating from the hearts of the people of Flushing nearly 300 years ago, is identical with that contained in the first article of the Bill of Rights and now a fundamental part of the American heritage: The government "shall make no law respecting the establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

Williams

"Liberty of conscience" became a popular and frequently used phrase in the middle of the 17th Century, more often than not with a selfish motive. It was a handy slogan for the promoters of colonial ventures. It was subject to a variety of interpretations that might even justify its application under conditions of rampant bigotry, prejudice and intolerance. At best, it rarely went further than to cover persons professing the Christian faith—and in some places it was a punishable offense to recognize Catholics as Christians.

Yet the Puritan could argue convincingly that the New England colonies had "liberty of conscience." Some of its founders had come to America for that purpose—to obtain liberty of conscience for themselves. Members of other sects might, and did, live there without undue molestation, provided they paid taxes and helped support the established church, were discreet in their behavior and refrained from public expression of their religious and political beliefs. The whipping post, the gallows and banishment were merely deterrents for those who, like the Quakers, Anabaptists and a few other militant sects, insisted upon openly practicing their forms of worship, or challenging the doctrines of the orthodox clergy and the synonymous authority of church and state.

While only adherents in good standing of the Puritan church could hold office and vote for governor and members of the General Court, these "freemen" were in the minority, by 1660 numbering much less than a fifth of the adult male population of Massachusetts. Somewhat similar conditions prevailed in the other New England colonies, where obviously church going could not have been as universal as is generally imagined.

The Cavalier of Virginia, who also enjoyed liberty of conscience, laid penalties on all others who might dissent from the Anglican church and required conformity to the Book of Common Prayer. Yet a fairly large group of Puritans, and others, managed to exist in the colony.

IN only two of the colonies, Rhode Island and Maryland, was there any semblance of religious freedom. This had been brought almost entirely by two men, Roger Williams and Lord Baltimore, rather than by popular sentiment.

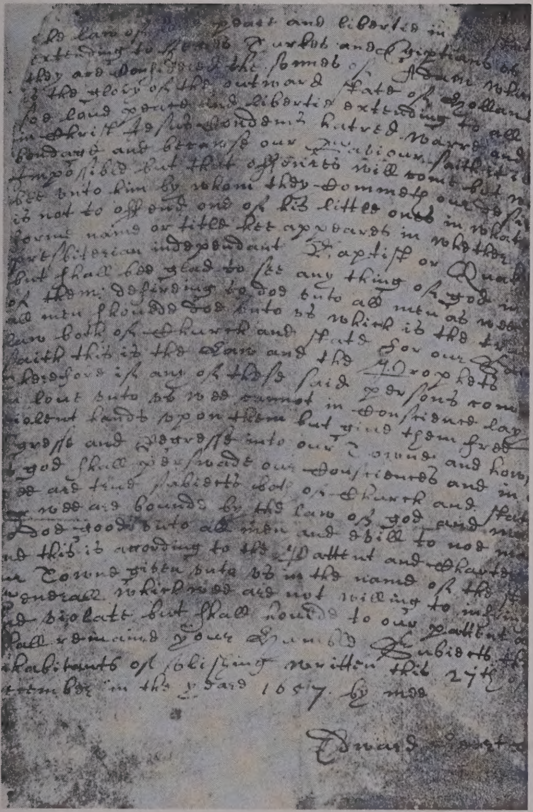
Maryland was successfully founded upon a basis of tolerance, through the honest desire of Lord Baltimore to erect a colony where Protestants and Roman Catholics might live on terms of equality, amity and forbearance. Nevertheless, Baltimore, a proprietor whose control was feudal and absolute, even to the initiation and confirmation of all laws, without intervention of the crown, would have had great difficulty in carrying out his plans had he attempted to make Maryland exclusively a Catholic colony, and the majority of his settlers were Protestant. Most of those who signed up originally for the venture were loyal to the Church of England. They were joined later by Puritans from Virginia. And while the Maryland enterprise proved that a policy of tolerance was practical and workable, Baltimore was unable to control the religious ardor of his subjects, and there was not always perfect peace and harmony in the colony.

The famous "Act Concerning Religion," adopted by the Maryland Assembly in 1649, appears to have been drafted by Lord Baltimore himself, as a matter of expedience and necessity, to save his charter when the Parliamentarians came into power in England, and for the protection of the Roman Catholic church in the province. He is suspected of having inserted in the initial draft of the act the phrase "liberty of conscience in matters of religion," which he had never used before, because he realized that there was a growing interest in this new idea.

Before its adoption, the act, which was a formal declaration of tolerance of one religious body by another and did not guarantee full religious freedom, was amended to provide inhuman punishment for any who denied the divinity of Christ. It is significant to note that until the previous year, when the civil war in England ended with the defeat of the royalists, Protestants had not been permitted to hold office or to have representation in the Maryland Assembly, and also that the amendment to the "Act Concerning Religion" was in accord with the action of the Long Parliament in providing drastic punishment for "heresies and blasphemies." While the act proclaimed religious tolerance, it protected only the Trinitarians. Among others, it excluded Jews, who avoided Maryland during its entire colonial period.

JUDGED by the standards of the times, Rhode Island was the only colony offering actual religious freedom. As in the case of toleration in Maryland, this was due to the personal convictions of 72 one man and was the effect rather than the cause in the founding of the colony. When he was banished from Massachusetts, where his ideas on theology and government differed radically from those of the Puritan state, it had not been Roger Williams' intention to create a haven for either religious or political refugees, but to do missionary work among the Indians.

It was after others had joined him in forming a settlement at Providence, and some form of government was necessary, that Williams drew up an agreement, in the form of a social compact, whereby the inhabitants were to subject themselves in active or passive obedience to such orders and understandings as should be the will of the greater number of the householders. Later he added the phrase, "only in Civil matters."



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they are considered the sonnes of Adam whi
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law both of Church and State for our Saviour
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habitants of Vlishing written this 27th of
ember in the yeare 1657 by mee

Edward Hart

Second page of the document prepared by Edward Hart, Clerk of the Town of Flushing. From photographs taken before manuscript was damaged in a Capitol fire.

Subsequently, in distributing lands which he had purchased from the Indians, he laid down the rule that there was to be equality of shares and recognition of the fact that the place was "for those who were destitute especially for conscience's sake." Thus was established the principle of religious liberty which became fixed in the life of the plantation.

Roger Williams' ideas of government and religious freedom were given a kind of statutory form a decade after Providence was established when the five "plantations" which constituted Rhode Island were brought together under a centralized governmental authority. Originally each settlement, while agreeing on many points of organization and doctrine, was a petty state in embryo, each with a marked political and religious atmosphere of its own. There existed rivalry and antagonism toward one another.

Advocating the complete separation of church and state, Williams opposed the absolute authority of any one church. In his "true picture of a commonwealth," written in 1655, he included Papists, Protestants, Jews and Turks, all of whom he thought to have a right not only to be tolerated, but to live and worship in their own way. He would grant liberty even to "seducing teachers," who, whether pagan, Jewish or anti-Christian, might still be obedient subjects to the civil laws.

While he stood for complete equality as far as liberty of conscience was concerned, Williams nevertheless was always ready to enter into arguments on theological questions. He disagreed with some of his associates in Rhode Island, and engaged in a spirited debate with the Quakers. A pamphlet which he issued, titled "George Fox Digg'd Out of His Burrowes," was termed by the Quaker leader "a very wicked and envious book . . . written against the truth and the Friends."

Overcoming his scruples against an English patent, Williams in 1644 went to get a charter from the Long Parliament in order to circumvent the claims of Massachusetts and Plymouth to his territory. It is a curious fact that "The Bloudy Tenent," composed of treatises on political science as well as theology and which he wrote while in England at that time, became one of the handbooks of the sectaries and levellers and was a powerful influence in bringing on the revolution of 1648, which put the Puritans in control.

THE people of Flushing were confronted with a vastly different problem than were those of either Maryland or Rhode Island in attempting to effectuate their views on religious tolerance. It was not possible for them merely to subscribe to and support an established policy of "liberty of conscience." It became necessary for them to challenge the authority of a government under which they lived as aliens, and to which they were beholden for the land on which they made their homes. They were subject to laws and regulations not of their own making and had no voice either in the administration of the colony or the enforcement of its laws.

It therefore required a high degree of courage and audacity for the people of Flushing to demand that the government extend to all others the liberties which they had been given, and openly declare their defiance of a law directed, not at themselves, but at a newly arrived group whose religious beliefs were, at the time, different from their own.

The proprietors of the New Netherland colony had found it expedient, as had Lord Baltimore, to offer religious tolerance as a means of assuring the success of their enterprise. At first attempting to keep the colony as a trading post and then to fill the land with servants and the lower classes of Holland, rather than with independent settlers, the Dutch West India Company was finding its colony highly unprofitable. Whereas there was a tremendous wave of emigrants to New England, because of religious and political strife and the lack of industrial opportunities for the humble classes at home, New Netherland found it difficult to get people to settle there.

In the decade from 1630 to 1640, the emigrants came into the Massachusetts Bay colony faster than they could be absorbed and soon, spurred partly by economic pressure and partly by the harshness of the Puritan rule, there was a movement westward along the shores of Long Island Sound. The opportunity was offered to attract some of these home seekers to New Netherland. Therefore, it was perhaps not entirely coincidentally that a committee of the States General of Holland and the Amsterdam Chamber of the West India Company in 1638 drafted a plan to offer land under attractive terms to emigrants from "the Republic (of Holland) or of a friendly country." Under the Charter of Freedoms and Exemptions issued in 1640 independent settlers who would establish towns might have a form of self government and be relieved of taxes for a time.

Cornell Lady Moody

Maspeth (later Newtown), Hempstead and Gravesend were settled on these terms during the next few years, but then a terrible Indian war broke out. At its conclusion the province was nearly destitute. Farms had been abandoned and the inhabitants crowded into New Amsterdam. Food supplies were low and the colony lacked funds to support the large army recruited to suppress the Indian uprising.

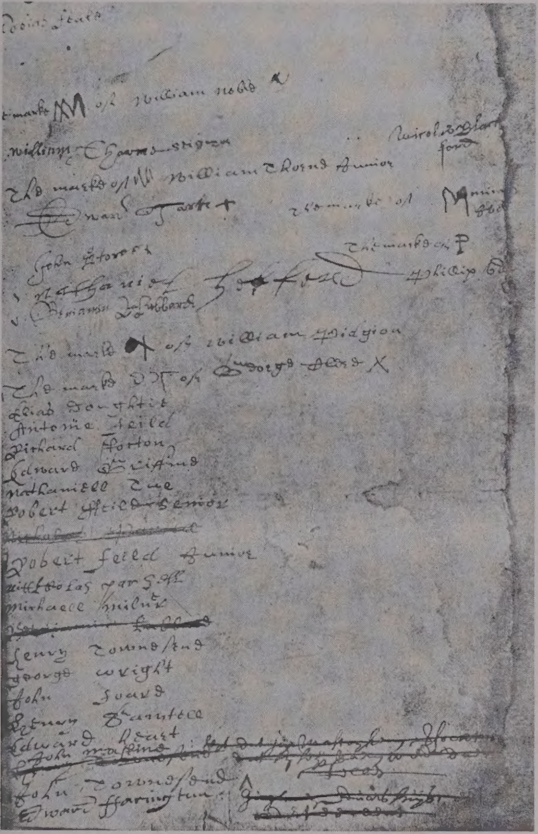
Governor Kieft felt the urgency to build up the colony and get new farms and towns established, even before the West India Company took action to meet the crisis and dispatched Peter Stuyvesant to take charge.

THE patent granted by Governor Kieft to a group of Englishmen in October, 1645, to establish a town at Flushing was probably the most liberal arrangement for any settlement in America granted by or on behalf of any government up to that time. The Flushing patent granted, for the first time, the right "to have and enjoy liberty of conscience, according to the custom and manner of Holland, without molestation or disturbance from any magistrates, or any other ecclesiastical minister, that may pretend jurisdiction over them."

While "liberty of conscience in the manner and custom of Holland" did not imply full religious freedom, in the modern sense, Holland, along with the Turkish Empire, had the most lenient attitude toward religious tolerance of any of the European nations. The Reformed church was the only officially recognized church and everyone was taxed to support it, but from early in the 17th Century, Protestants of all sects enjoyed political rights and, in most instances, privileges of public worship. Catholics were permitted to have their own places of worship if the exteriors were built to look like houses. Jews had no rights but were granted asylum and could worship privately in peace.

The practice of tolerance in Holland was somewhat modified in the laws established for New Netherland. Considerable latitude was permitted in exercising liberty of conscience, however, even though there was an official state church and the government could forbid "assemblies or conventicles" of any but the Reformed religion.

While Governor Kieft remained in office no religious worship, including the Catholic, was forbidden. Two French Jesuit mission-



Tobias feake

The marke of William noble

William Thorne seignior

Nicolas Blackford

The marke of William Thorne Junior

Edward Tarne +

The marke of Micah Tue

John Storer

The marke of Philipp Ud

Nathaniel Hefferd

Benjamin Hubbard

The marke of William Pidgion

The marke of George Clere X

Elias Doughtie

Antonie Feild

Richard Horton

Edward Griffine

Nathaniell Tue

Robert ffield senior

~~[illegible]~~

Robert field Junior

Nickolas Parsell

Michaell Milner

~~[illegible]~~

Henry Townsend

George Wright

John Foard

Henry Samtell

Edward Heart

~~John Masline~~

John Townesend

Edward ffarington

~~[illegible]~~

Signatures of the freeholders of Flushing who, with some of their neighbors from Jamaica, defied efforts of Governor Stuyvesant to restrict religious freedom.

aries to Canada, who had been rescued from the Indians, were supplied with food and clothing, and given other assistance. One of them was allowed to administer the rites of the Catholic Church to his co-religionists in New Amsterdam.

Whether the provision for "liberty of conscience" was inserted in the Flushing patent as a generous gesture on the part of Governor Kieft in his eagerness to get additional settlers into the colony and establish new towns which might serve as buffers in the event of further Indian attacks on New Amsterdam or whether it was the result of shrewd negotiating by the leaders of the group is not known. There is some valid reason to assume the latter. The fact remains, however, that the patent would seem to assure the Flushing settlers the privilege of self-determination in matters of religion, for themselves and their heirs, without interference by the authorities of either church or state. They appear to have so interpreted it and staunchly fought against any infringement of that right.

From the very beginning Flushing would have no established church. Governor Stuyvesant tried to force the town to accept as its minister the Reverend Francis Doughty of Maspeth, whom the Dutch clergy considered in agreement with the Reformed church. Some of the citizens approved this action but many others did not wish to attend the services and refused to be taxed for the minister's support, despite threats of prosecution by the provincial Council.

IT was not until 1652, after Stuyvesant had been governor for several years, that serious interference with worship by other than the Reformed sect began. Stuyvesant, himself a strict Calvinist, is sometimes accused of having started religious persecution on his own, although it appears more likely that the Dutch clergy had begun to exert pressure to check the spread of other doctrines in the colony. Many of the laity, both English and Dutch, were only too eager to support and encourage a policy of intolerance.

The Holland government meanwhile was advertising hospitality to persons "of tender conscience in England and elsewhere oppressed." Mindful that its liberal policy had once saved the colony from veritable bankruptcy and was now paying dividends in its rapid growth and development, the government did not wish to deal harshly with any elements in the population, which now contained such a mixture of nationalities that it was necessary to translate all official notices into three languages. At the same time it felt that some restrictions were necessary because many of these alien groups, especially the English, were trying to obtain special commercial and trading privileges in competition with the Dutch. They also were agitating for political representation in the tightly controlled management of the colony.

With the ecclesiastical authorities in Holland supporting the provincial clergy in their complaints of the increase in unorthodox sects, the government temporized and sanctioned rigorous enforcement of laws restricting religious tolerance which long had been a dead letter at home. The West India Company, while mildly reprimanding Stuyvesant on occasion for being overly vehement, also hesitated to take a firm stand against persecution.

Although both Kieft and Stuyvesant respected and had got along amicably with Lady DeBorah Moody, the Anabaptist founder of Gravesend, Dominie Megapolensis, head of the provincial church, petitioned that she be brought before the Governor and Consistory of the church for using "calumnious expressions against God's work and his servants."

When a group of Lutherans asked permission to call a clergyman of their own, Stuyvesant told them he was bound by his oath of office to sanction only the established church of Holland, and imprisoned some leaders of the group for attempting to hold services.

For this he was mildly rebuked by the directors of the Amsterdam Chamber of the Company, which had supervision over the administration of the colony. They informed him that they "would have been better pleased if you had not published the placard against the Lutherans and committed them to prison, as it has always been our intention to treat them kind and lenient." He was advised not to continue this or any similar practice without the knowledge of the company's directors, and to let the Lutherans have "free liberties exercised in their houses." Nevertheless a Lutheran minister was later arrested for conducting public worship and banished from the colony.

Upon the arrival of 29 Jews from Brazil, Stuyvesant and Dominie Megapolensis asked the company to forbid all Jews "to infest Man-q Westr Co, N.Y. -

hattan" but he was told they might reside there if they supported their poor. Most of this group, however, went to Rhode Island after their goods had been seized and sold at auction, despite the fact that money was pledged to pay for the passage of the poorer members.

At another time a protest against admission of Jews was sent to the Amsterdam Classis by Dominie Megapolensis, who declared: "As we have here Baptists, Minnonites and Lutherans among the Dutch; also many Puritans or Independents and many Atheists and various other servants of Baal among the English under this government, who conceal themselves under the name of Christians; it would create a still greater confusion if the obstinate and immovable Jews came to settle here." The West India Company decided that the "Jews and Portuguese people were to be allowed to exercise in all quietness their religion within their houses," but suggested that the homes of such people be segregated to one side of New Amsterdam.

IN 1656 William Wickenden, an itinerant cobbler, came to Flushing from Rhode Island. A Baptist, Wickenden declared he had "a commission from Christ" and began preaching his doctrine in the town, baptising a number of converts in the river. The people of Flushing showed no inclination to interfere with Wickenden's activities and Sheriff William Hallett even permitted him to hold services in his home. As soon as he heard about this, Stuyvesant removed Hallett from office and fined him. Wickenden, whom the governor described as "a troublesome fellow," was shipped back to Rhode Island.

In a lengthy report sent to the Amsterdam Classis in 1657, reviewing the state of religious affairs in all English towns, the Reverends Megapolensis and Drisius complained that the people in the town of Flushing were imbued with "diverse opinions" and for several years were "absenting themselves from the sermon and refusing to pay Mr. Doughty the salary promised him, and had been without preachers or any established church." The clergy were much distressed by such a state of affairs.

Meanwhile the arrival of Quakers in New Netherland added fuel to the flames of religious controversy and set off a new and more violent wave of intolerance and persecution. The Society of Friends, started in England by George Fox in 1645, the same year that Flushing was founded, was a militantly evangelistic sect who seemed to delight in making martyrs of themselves and used every opportunity to expound their particular doctrines, even to entering the churches of other denominations and debating with the ministers in the midst of service.

The first Quakers who had gone to New England in 1656 had been ordered to desist in their preaching or leave the colonies. Those who refused were taken to the gallows. Determined to defy this persecution, a group of Quakers led by the Reverend Robert Hodgson had set out from England for Boston. Their ship was blown off its course and they landed in New Amsterdam instead. Two women in the group immediately began "preaching turbulently in the streets of New Amsterdam," declaring that the day of judgment was at hand and calling upon all people to repent. They were dragged off to prison.

Hodgson went to the English settlements on Long Island to preach. At the invitation of Lady Moody, he spoke at Gravesend and then made his way to Hempstead. There he was arrested by the pious English magistrates for attempting to hold services out of doors on the Sabbath and, turned over to the Dutch authorities, was made to walk back to New Amsterdam chained to the tail of a cart. The Council condemned him to pay a heavy fine or work for two years shackled to the slaves of the West India Company. This

punishment not being enough, Hodgson was flogged until Stuyvesant's sister pleaded to spare his life. He was then deported to Rhode Island.

More Quakers came into the province and some of the inhabitants of the English towns were showing them hospitality, and even attending surreptitious meetings. Stuyvesant, enraged by these activities, decided upon vigorous measures. Henry Townsend was arrested and fined for holding a meeting in his house in Jamaica (then called Rustdorp) "in defiance of the order against conventicles" of any but the Reformed religion.

Stuyvesant then issued a proclamation, which was printed on placards and posted in every town, declaring that any person entertaining a Quaker for a single night was to be fined 50 florins, of which one-half was to go to whoever informed the authorities, and vessels bringing any Quaker into the province would be confiscated.

THE reading of the Governor's placard must have been greeted with angry comments among the townspeople of Flushing. The new ordinance was probably discussed in the homes and wherever men met in the town. Sentiment grew to oppose this new infringement upon the right to have and enjoy liberty of conscience without interference by any magistrate or minister, as provided in the town charter.

It was decided to send a remonstrance to the governor in protest of his action. A remonstrance was the customary instrument among the Dutch for expression of public opinion. Holland had always respected public opinion, and the unorganized, unofficially expressed opinion of the mass or majority of the people had been a strong force in liberalizing the government of that nation. Remonstrances were frequently used in New Netherland, either as a petition to the government or the West India Company for special privileges or as a protest of grievances. ergo Magdalen Dircks

To Town Clerk Edward Hart fell the task of preparing such a document, addressed to the Governor, stating the views of the people of Flushing regarding the ban on Quakers and restrictions on religious freedom. When it was ready, the Remonstrance was read and approved at a town meeting held in the home of Michael Milner on December 27, 1657.

The Remonstrance covered two sheets of paper, at the bottom of which was the notation: "Prepared by me, Edward Hart, clericus." On the top of a third sheet Sheriff Tobias Feake boldly signed his name. Magistrate William Noble and others attending the town meeting added their signatures. During the next two days Magistrate Edward Farrington and several freeholders not present at the meeting, along with two from Jamaica, put their names to the document.

Then, on December 29, Sheriff Feake journeyed to New Amsterdam and handed the document to Governor Stuyvesant at a meeting of the Council. The Governor angrily ordered Feake imprisoned and during a stormy session of the Council warrants also were issued for the arrest of Hart and the two magistrates.

Ironically, at the same session of the Council at which the Flushing Remonstrance was presented, complaint was received from certain "principal inhabitants" of Jamaica that their fellow citizen, Henry Townsend, one of the signers of the Remonstrance, was again harboring Quakers, despite his arrest four months previously on the same charge. The Council ordered Townsend held until he paid a fine of 300 florins. It is not known whether the complainants against Townsend received their half of the fine for informing on him.

Edward Hart was subjected to a searching examination with a view of determining the instigator of the Remonstrance. It appears that Stuyvesant could not conceive that the people of themselves would be moved to tolerance. There had to be a culprit, and Stuyvesant suspected Feake. It is very likely that the Sheriff may have been a prime leader in this affair.

Despite repeated questioning as to whether Feake, or anyone else, had directed what he should write or had influenced the people to act, Hart stoutly maintained that the Remonstrance contained only what were the sentiments of all the people, as he had gathered them "from the general votes of the inhabitants," and that it had been signed willingly following action taken at the town meeting. When nothing of importance could be extracted from him, Hart was sent to prison.

After three weeks confinement, Hart's neighbors interceded in his behalf, since he was elderly, with a large family to support. Hart was released from prison, but not until he had been made to apologize for having "written a writing whereat you (the Governor) take offense" and pleaded with Stuyvesant "for your mercy, not your judgment."

The two Noble magistrates defended their actions by declaring that "our patent grants us liberty of conscience" and that the Remonstrance, as a petition to the governor, was "honest in intent." Upon repenting that they had "acted so inconsiderately" and promising "to offend no more in that kind," they also were released, but suspended from office.

On suspicion that he, as well as Sheriff Feake, may have influenced the magistrates, John Townsend, a patentee of Flushing then residing in Jamaica, who was among the signers, was haled before the Council and asked if he had persuaded Farrington to add his name to the document. Although he insisted that he had visited Farrington as an old acquaintance, and nothing more, the Council held Townsend in bail to appear whenever summoned.

When all the questioning was done, Stuyvesant still felt that Feake was the one who had been largely responsible for the "seditious cantadel." Accusing him of having maintained that "all sects, and principally the aforesaid heretical and abominable sect of Quakers, shall and ought to be tolerated," the Governor removed Feake from office, and gave him the option of paying a fine of 200 florins or being banished from the province.

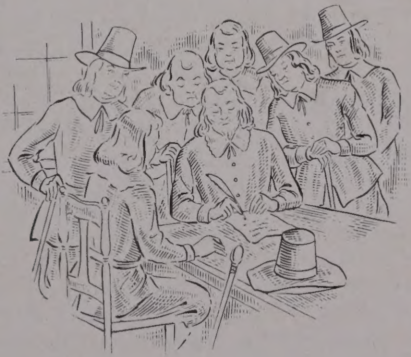
IT is perhaps significant that Stuyvesant directed his ire over the Remonstrance chiefly at the town officials, and so far as the records of the time show, the other signers were not punished, as individuals. Perhaps Stuyvesant was just as much concerned over the political implications of the town's actions in this case as he was of the religious issues involved.

In justice to Stuyvesant, it should be borne in mind that he had his problems with the English who settled in the western end of Long Island, in the area which later became the County of Queens. Most Englishmen regarded him as an insufferable tyrant, while Stuyvesant looked upon the English as a mutinous element, eager to challenge his authority in administering the affairs of the colony and to seize upon every opportunity to overthrow the Dutch government.

An able administrator, as well as a brilliant soldier, Stuyvesant served his employer, the Dutch West India Company, faithfully and endeavored diligently to protect its interests. Although often described as crafty and arrogant, there was both light and shadow in the man's character. Even some of those who ran afoul of his wrath or who felt the full weight of his power as supreme official of the province were inclined to speak of him as a kindly and considerate man, moderate in his personal attitude toward fellow beings.

Four years before, the people of Flushing had been among the principal agitators of a protest over taxation without representation for the English towns in the New Netherland government. Tobias Feake had been chosen as Flushing's representative to a provincial diet or land-dag, the first of its kind in America, which was the outgrowth of this agitation and which drafted a remonstrance sharply criticizing Stuyvesant's arbitrary rule.

Small wonder then that Stuyvesant felt that he had to take firm measures against the officials of Flushing for having been a party to the Remonstrance against his ban on the Quakers. That they may have been sincere in their advocacy of tolerance and may have acted within the rights and privileges purportedly guaranteed in their town patent was quite beside the point. The fact that the Quakers were the source of the trouble made the situation all the more difficult. There is no doubt that Stuyvesant found the Quakers more objectionable to his personal theological views than almost any other sect.



As an official, he found in their noisy self-assertion, and the readiness of the English not only to give them asylum but encourage their activities, a threat to his prestige and authority which he hardly could ignore.

But whether or not the severity of the measures he took in regard to the Flushing Remonstrance may have been motivated, in part at least, by political consideration, Stuyvesant was determined that this "new and unheard of heresy" would not occur again in the town of Flushing.

Stuyvesant magnanimously "forgave" the town for its mutinous conduct, but he announced that in the future he would appoint a sheriff without nominations from the citizens, as had been the custom; and he would choose a man "acquainted with practical Dutch law." To make sure that his own appointee and the magistrates would not be led astray, the Governor also decreed that there should be chosen "seven of the most reasonable and respectable inhabitants, to be called tribunes or townsmen, and with whom the sheriff and magistrates shall consult at all times."

Something also was to be done to assure that proper religious conditions prevailed. For twelve years the town had gone along without Dutch an established church; it was time it had one. A tax of twelve stivers per morgen of land was ordered levied on all the inhabitants for the support of an orthodox minister, and any who refused to conform within six weeks were to have their property confiscated. Richard Cornell Stuyvesant had no more luck at collecting this tax or forcing the town to accept a minister of the state church than he had had in trying to get Flushing to pay the salary of the Reverend Mr. Doughty. The people continued to act upon religious matters as their consciences dictated, and not in accordance with any compulsion by the government.

Nor was Stuyvesant able to subdue the spirit of tolerance. Town Clerk Edward Hart had spoken the truth when he said that the Remonstrance expressed the sentiments of all the people. The officials may have, under duress, been forced to an admission of wrong doing but the Remonstrance, formally approved at a town meeting and subscribed to by most of the freeholders of the town, was never revoked by any similar action.

THE people of Flushing had sent to Governor Stuyvesant a simple, direct statement of their intentions regarding the Quakers and any of the other "sonnes of Adam . . . in whatsoever form, name or title he appears in." The people said they would not "lay violent hands upon them . . . punish, banish or persecute them . . . but give them free egress and regress into our town and houses." There was never any deviation from that course. Quakers continued to find hospitality in the town of Flushing, even though the governor posted his placards warning against harboring them or attending their meetings, and quartered troops in nearby Jamaica to apprehend members of the sect and those who dared befriend them.

It is unfortunate that the minutes of the town meeting at which the Remonstrance was approved and signed were among the records of the colonial period destroyed in an incendiary fire in 1789. It would be interesting to have more details of what happened at the session, of the discussion that took place and, most important of all, some clue to the author of that unprecedented Declaration of Tolerance to all men and all creeds.

From the indirect and relatively meager information available it may be assumed that credit for writing the great document belongs to Edward Hart. Obviously Hart had more than a smattering of learning and was well versed in "the law of Moses and Christ." Certain phrasing suggests that he also was familiar with contemporary theological writings.

Perhaps Sheriff Tobias Feake, perhaps others, watched over the shoulder of this frail, aging man who signed himself "Clericus" as he took time away from his labors in the fields to set down in simple words and masterly logic what he believed to be the sentiments of all the people. But if he received advice or aid from anyone in preparing the Remonstrance, Edward Hart refused to implicate them as he faced the fury of the Governor's wrath. This man endured the horrible ordeal of imprisonment, at a tremendous sacrifice to himself and his family, without attempting to avoid responsibility for his action; and when offered his freedom upon the plea of his fellow citizens he accepted the Governor's mercy, but not his judgment of the right or wrong of what he had done.

Few of the men who gathered before the smoldering fire in the kitchen of Michael Milner's home on the 27th day of December, 1657, and debated an action which held recognized peril to each of them, possessed even the rudimentary education to have prepared such "a writing." Some had to sign the document with a crude mark, while the faltering signatures of others were so illegible that their very identity has not been determined with certainty.

The men who signed the Flushing Remonstrance were not men of position and influence in the royal chambers and the councils of state; they were not men of power and wealth able to command the attention of lords of colonial empires; nor were they ministers whose influence among any great body of people would cause their opinions to be respected. Denied even representation in the government under which they lived, except by petition without recourse to appeal, they could speak only for their town and their homes.

They were humble men whose worldly possessions were a few morgens of land from which, by long and arduous labor, they might obtain the barest necessities of life for themselves and their families. Their homes, in almost every instance, were the most modest shelters, some of them perhaps consisting of no more than a hole dug in the ground and covered by a thatch roof. But no one, whether Christian, Jew or heathen, would be denied a welcome and God's blessing.

Because the Remonstrance ostensibly concerned only this obscure little Flushing settlement and represented the views of a few men, most of whose names appear nowhere else in the record of the time, historians have generally neglected to emphasize its importance in the evolution of democracy in the New World. Without parallel anywhere in America, the Flushing Remonstrance had greater significance and its effect was farther reaching than the brief tempest in the Council of the Province of New Netherland might indicate.

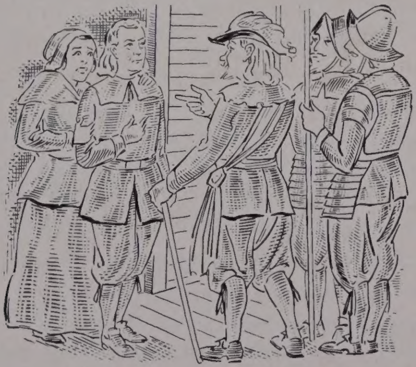
In time the powerful Dutch West India Company and the States General of Holland were to bow to the principle it expounded and put an end to religious persecution.

THE climax to the wave of religious persecution in New Netherland came in 1662, shortly after John Bowne built his new home in Flushing and invited the Quakers to worship there. For some time the Quakers, to avoid arrest by Stuyvesant's soldiers, had been holding secret meetings in the woods near Flushing. A number of people of the town attended these services and became converts. Among these were John Bowne and his wife, Hannah, who was a stepdaughter of William Hallet, deposed from his office as sheriff in the Wickenden episode.

Complaint quickly went to Governor Stuyvesant from the magistrates of Jamaica that "many of their village were adherents and followers of the abominable Quaker sect and that a large meeting was held at the house of John Bowne in Flushing every Sunday." Accompanied by a squad of soldiers and armed with an order from the Governor directing all magistrates and inhabitants of English towns to assist him in imprisoning all such persons found in a prohibited or unlawful meeting, an officer was sent from New Amsterdam to arrest John Bowne.

Leaving his wife and two children critically ill, Bowne was taken to New Amsterdam. The Council found him guilty of providing lodgings for some of the "heretical Quakers" and permitting their meetings in his house "in contempt of our order and placards." For these "transactions of the most dangerous consequences," Bowne was ordered to pay a fine of 150 florins "with the express warning to abstain himself in future from all such conventicles and meetings." A second offense would bring double the fine and a further violation would mean banishment from the province.

Characteristic with most Quakers of his time, John Bowne stood steadfast in the face of persecution. He would neither pay the fine nor promise to abstain himself from religious services of the Quakers. Bowne was put in solitary confinement in the fort's dungeon, on a diet of coarse bread and water, to think things over.



That failed to have any effect, so the Governor had him moved to a room in the Stadt Huis and the door of his cell was often left unlocked. By allowing his wife and friends to visit him, Stuyvesant thought Bowne might be persuaded to change his mind. He even allowed Bowne three days in which to visit his home in Flushing, unescorted, possibly with the hope that he might be tempted to flee the colony. To the astonishment of his jailer, Bowne returned before the time had expired and asked to be locked up. Stuyvesant then let it be known, through some of the minor officials and an English minister, that if Bowne would pay the fine or agree to remove himself from the jurisdiction of the province the whole matter could be forgotten.

But Bowne continued to be "obstinate and pervicatious" so, after three months imprisonment, it was decided to deport him on the first ship ready to sail, "as an example to others." When the ship 7 Fox was preparing to depart for Holland, Bowne was offered one last chance to obey the sentence, which he rejected, and was ordered put aboard.

At Bowne's request for "something in writing" to explain his crime, Governor Stuyvesant drafted a letter to the directors of the West India Company and dispatched it on the same ship.

After a stormy voyage, the Fox put in at Dublin. There Bowne left the ship to journey to England to enlist the help of friends in presenting his case before the Amsterdam Chamber of the company. Since Stuyvesant had made no arrangement to pay for his passage, and Bowne refused to bear the expense of his own banishment, the master of the Fox confiscated the chest containing all Bowne's personal belongings.

The Fox continued to Holland, where Stuyvesant's letter concerning Bowne was delivered. Alarmed when it learned that Stuyvesant, because of his trouble with Bowne, had embarked upon a policy of chasing settlers from the colony and threatened even more severe treatment of other religious offenders, the Amsterdam Chamber dispatched a prompt reply:

"Although we properly wished that such (Quakers) and other sectarians were not found there, yet as contrary is the case we doubt very much if rigorous proceedings against them can be continued without weakening and preventing the population, which at so tender an age of the new country must be promoted by every possible means.

"Wherefore, in this case some connivance should be made at least, and in all events people's conscience should not be forced by anyone but remain free in itself, as long as he is modest and behaves in a lawful manner and therefore does not disturb others or oppose the government.

"And as this maxim of moderation has always been observed by the government of this city and if measured from time to time in a world empire of people we doubt not that your province will find this practice beneficial also, you will therefore regulate yourself accordingly."

Although the Dutch West India Company had acted with somewhat the same motive as had Lord Baltimore, the protection of a colonial investment, it did overrule Stuyvesant's policy of persecution and officially proclaim religious freedom in the colony.

The question of John Bowne's banishment, however, still remained to be settled. Obtaining a letter of introduction to a Quaker cheesemonger in Amsterdam who would serve as his adviser and interpreter, Bowne made his way to Holland. There the Amsterdam Chamber of the company, in which the States General was represented, named a committee to hear Bowne's case.

The committee showed no hostility over the fact that Bowne was a Quaker, and Bowne was impressed that no objection was made to his wearing his hat, according to the Quaker custom, in the committee's presence. This was quite contrary to his experience in the Council of New Amsterdam, where Stuyvesant had ordered the soldiers to forcibly remove Bowne's hat.

WHILE it gave no indication that it approved Stuyvesant's action in banishing Bowne, the committee seemed reluctant to interfere in a decision made by the provincial authorities in a matter involving violation of a local law. Instead, it was suggested that Bowne bring his wife and children to Holland to live since, the Committee maintained, the company could not promise him liberty in New Netherland.

Bowne replied that he had no intention of giving up his home in Flushing and that "liberty was promised to us in a patent given by virtue of the prince, the States General and the West India Company."

The committee observed that the patent had been granted by Governor Kieft "before any or but a few of your judgment (Quakers) were heard of."

"We are known to be a peaceful people," Bowne declared.

"But," the committee said, "if you will not be subject to the laws and placards which are published we cannot suffer you in our jurisdiction."

"It is good to consider whether the law or placard that was published be according to justice and righteousness, or whether it be not contrary to it, and also to that liberty promised us in our patent," Bowne argued.

Bowne had had the forethought to bring a copy of the Flushing patent with him, and urged the committee to read it. After due consideration of the document, the committee admitted that it found the patent "very good and like it well."

Finally it was decided that if Bowne would sign a bill of particulars the committee would recommend that he be allowed to return home. Bowne was admonished, however, that "all those that will not be subject to that placard (the ordinance against harboring Quakers) and all others (laws) that either are already there or shall hereafter be made, shall not live in our jurisdiction."

Bowne refused to sign the document the committee prepared. Instead he presented the following written appeal:

"The paper drawn for me to sign I have perused and weighed, and do find the same not according to that engagement to me through one of your members, that he or you would do therein by me as you would be done unto, and not otherwise. For which of you being taken from your wife and family without just cause, would be found from returning to them unless upon terms to act contrary to your conscience, and deny your faith and religion, and yet in this effect do you require of me but not less.

"But truly, I cannot think that you did in sober earnest ever think I would subscribe to any such thing, it being the very thing for which I rather chose freely to suffer want of the company of my dear wife and children, imprisonment of my person, the ruin of my estate in my absence, and the loss of my goods here, than to yield or consent to such unreasonable thing as you thereby would enjoy unto me.

"For which I am persuaded you will not only be judged in the sight of God, but by good and godly men, rather to have mocked at the oppression of the oppressed and added affliction to the afflicted than therein to have done unto me as you in the like case would be done unto you, which the royal cause of our God requires.

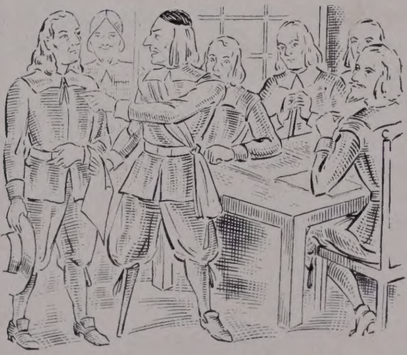
"I have with patience and moderation waited several weeks expecting justice from you, but behold, an addition to my oppression is the measure I receive.

"Wherefore I have this now to request for you, that the Lord will not lay this to your charge, but to give eyes to see, and hearts to do justice, that you may find mercy with the Lord in the day of judgment."

To this argument the committee could find but one answer. John Bowne was released the next day and permitted to return home.

When he arrived in Flushing after two years' absence, Governor Stuyvesant, meeting him on the street, expressed pleasure over his safe return and said he hoped "our friends would be troubled no more."

THE trial and acquittal of John Bowne was the culmination of a struggle that had gone on for nearly fifteen years against infringement of the "right to have and enjoy liberty of conscience" as guaranteed by the patent of the Town of Flushing.



By his obstinacy and courage, his refusal to compromise in his religious beliefs, John Bowne won more than his personal freedom. It must be remembered that he had been arrested, imprisoned and banished for violation of the very same ordinance that the people of Flushing had denounced in the Remonstrance.

The arguments John Bowne used in his defense closely followed the theme of the Remonstrance. And both challenged the authority of the government to restrict the free exercise of religion, or to deny to a citizen the right to admit any person to his town and home because of their religious persuasion.

The disposition of his case brought an end to religious persecution in the colony and vindicated the people of Flushing who had taken a firm and valiant stand against interference with the inviolate right of every man to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience and to be tolerant toward his fellow men.

Religious freedom won from the Dutch government was continued under the English administration which began in 1664. Governor Nichols, who led the expedition which captured New Netherland from the Dutch, confirmed the Flushing town patent with its provision for liberty of conscience. A few years later religious freedom became the law for the entire colony.

When the Duke of York was forced to agree to the establishment of a representative assembly, its first act at a meeting at Hempstead in October, 1683, with representatives from Flushing, Jamaica, Newtown and Hempstead attending, was to draft the Charter of Liberties. This charter, the basic law of the colony until the Constitution of the United States was adopted with its Bill of Rights, included as one of its provisions a guarantee to the people against any form of religious persecution.

Thus, in a chain of events extending over many years, the high ideal of religious tolerance, proclaimed in the Remonstrance of the ordinary citizens of the Town of Flushing in 1657, obtained acceptance as a fundamental principle of the freedom which is the heritage of all Americans.

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"The law of love, peace and liberty in the states extending to Jews, Turks, and Egyptians, as they are considered the sonnes of Adam, which is the glory of the outward state of Holland, soe love, peace and liberty, extending to all in Christ Jesus, condemns hatred, war and bondage. And because our Saviour saith it is impossible but that offenses will come, but woe unto him by whom they cometh, our desire is not to offend one of his little ones, in whatsoever form, name or title hee appears in, whether Presbyterian, Independent, Baptist or Quaker, but shall be glad to see anything of God in any of them, desiring to doe unto all men as wee desire all men should doe unto us, which is the true law both of Church and State; for our Saviour saith this is the law and the prophets."

Because Governor Peter Stuyvesant violated Flushing, Long Island's Charter of 1645, which guaranteed settlers "Liberty of Conscience," the Flushing Remonstrance from which the above quotation is taken was signed December 27th, 1657. It has often been called "America's First Declaration of Independence."

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